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Pro-Slavery.

THE DEFECTION OF DOUGLAS.

From The South.

We are no longer allowed to entertain a doubt of Senator Douglas's determination to abandon the Democracy and enlist in the service of the Black Republican party. In his speech of last Wednesday, he not only ratified and endorsed the whole programme of fanaticism as presented in the Message, but distinctly declared himself a champion of Black Republican interests in the Kansas controversy. Of course this apostacy was greeted with the unaffected applause of the party to which he has sold himself, and has suddenly transfers his allegiance. Seward and Hale bore the most conspicuous part in the ceremony of initiation, but all Pandemonium joined in the shout with which the renegade grasp of friendship was taken, and the echo resound from every anti-slavery paper in the hireling States. In pledge of fidelity to his new confederates, the proselyte has already given notice that he will apply the action of the Lecompton Convention, and to submit another constitution for the government for Kansas, from which slavery will be excluded by positive enactment. Thus, by all the mysterious rules and solemn vows appropriate to the celebration of an initiation into the Black Republican party, he abjures the faith of a Democracy and is received into full communion of the Black Republicans.

We cannot affect indifference at the treachery of Senator Douglas. He was a politician of considerable prominence, and was regarded by many as a man of talents. *Associations with Southern gentlemen had smoothed down the rugged vulgarities of his early education, and he had come to be quite a decent and well-behaved person.* At the beginning of his career he was identified with some of the obnoxious features of the Democratic party, but his military influence to which he owes the improvement in his manners wrought a wholesome change in his political opinions. At first an advocate of Wilmot proviso, he progressed to the point of avowed opposition to any restriction on the existence of negro slavery, and his support of the Fugitive Slave law and the Kansas-Nebraska act he displayed a firmness and a fidelity which gave him the confidence of the State Rights Democracy. Whether he ranked among the really hopeful statesmen of the country, and was regarded as a possible President for a large number of enterprising office-hunters.

It is a ways painful to contemplate the eclipse of a bright star, and the sudden frustration of hopes which appear about to blossom into a brilliant reality. Mr. Douglas was rapidly growing in the confidence of the Southern Democracy, and after a little more trial he would have been thought worthy of his high ambition. His impatient desire would endure no further postponement of gratification. Twice had his claims to the Presidency been set aside in Convention, and the prospect of a third disappointment in the same party was more than he could bear. If by any chance he could place himself in the lead of the anti-slavery movement, and by an opportune reinforcement determine the struggle in favour of the Black Republicans, might he not reasonably demand the prize of victory? Would not Seward and Chase recognize precedence in behalf of an ally who had rendered such signal service to the common cause? Would not they accept a subordinate position under so renowned a leader? Will not the Black Republicans of the North say to Douglas in order to accomplish the overthrow of the Democratic party, and to ensure the triumph of the principles of the Republican party, we must now be regarded as an enemy to be confiscated by legal process? Can our Legislature devise no means for redress of the grievance and resentment of the wrong? We submit the subject to their consideration.—*Ibid.*

DISCUSSION ON SLAVERY IN CONGRESS.

From The Journal of Commerce.

We have ever counted it as among the greatest of evils that this subject should have occupied the position it has, and taken so much of the valuable time of Congress; for after all, slavery is a State institution, and must be managed by the people of the respective States. The time was when all things appeared to be working well for the friends of freedom, and for the slaves themselves. There was fair and free discussion, for example, in the Legislature of Virginia, and the abolitionists began to launch their thunderbolts, and all public discussion of the subject in the slaveholding States speedily ceased. In 1832, emancipation was discussed in the Virginia Legislature, and Mr. Broadnax, of Dinwiddie, spoke as follows: "The time has passed away in the history of the world when there can be any sealed subject in this country. The spirit of the age will not tolerate the suppression. If Virginia intellect and Virginia patriotism do not speedily grapple with the fearful question of the increased spirit of inquiry and self-reflection—the demand in other regions for liberal institutions—the flood of light from modern accessions to political and philosophical science which is poured in upon us, have imparted a tone of inquisitiveness to the public mind, and rendered it impatient of any subject being enveloped in the mantle of mystery." Thus could a Virginia legislature speak but a few years after the period Garrison broke loose with his unsanities, the cry was taken up, and echoed by all the inflammable demagogues; and ever since that time, the discussion of the subject in that State has ceased as by common consent. Other institutions, which were at the same high and triumphant ground, have constantly diminished, and perpetualism has rather been gaining the ascendancy. Once we heard, but now hear no more, such sentiments as the following, uttered by Mr. Dugnid, then a leading anti-slavery party in the commonion of the Black Republicans.

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wasn't doing right. Let us suppose that one of the attorneys who gave his valuable knowledge to aid a master from Kentucky to reclaim a fugitive in this city recently had to change places with the slave. Suppose he "belonged" to some "highly accomplished and hospitable" black Vallandingham, who, being occasionally in need of a lawyer's services, had concluded to buy one and save fees; and his agent had selected our friend, after a thorough survey of the market. His new condition don't please him. If he goes off to a "hoe down" at night, and his written opinion is not ready next morning when it is wanted, he is "tucked up" and "licked within an inch of his life." If he files a "demurrer" and his point is not well taken, he is licked again. If the Judge should happen to own "on the sly" half of an opposing lawyer practising in the same Court, and should naturally lean a little in favor of his own property, why, our friend has to suffer again. If he pleads "double," he is licked; if he is "demurred" out of Court, he is licked; if he lets a plea in abatement upset his case, he is licked; if he can't find an "authority," he is licked; if he does find it and the Court won't regard it, he is licked; if the jury is intractable, he is licked. His "professional experience," in short, under the new arrangement, becomes a calendar of floggings. His back is equal to an English Judge's memorandum book of rulings. Every "point" is scored there. We can easily imagine with what feelings he would cite the Dred Scott case, and argue for the constitutionality of slavery wherever the Constitution extended. Under the threat of a thrashing if it wasn't well done, we can fancy how he would insist on the legality of the Fugitive Slave Act, and taunt the "traitors" who denounced it. But, as we said, his condition is not so pleasant as he could wish. He feels like his brother slave, who is not so fair-skinned, and who cuts hemp, and tends the turkies while they eat tobacco worms, that it would be pleasanter to belong to himself, to own his own legs and brains and command his own time. So he swims the Ohio some night and comes back here. He falls into his former habits and associations, and in about three years forgets that he is cheating his owner shamefully. He gets his county to boiling again. He procures his own conventions, nominates his own candidates, starts his own paper, coaxes the Governor to roll up his breeches and "wade in" for him, recovers all his Democracy, and blows away as vigorously as ever. Some day, while defending the right of slavery to go wherever it will, and an adoring crowd of Handoodlians surround the stump on which their idol is set up, the U. S. Marshal takes him by the leg, jerks him off in the midst of an eulogy on "Dred Scott," and, fastening a manacle thereto, hands him over to his owner, who, being of course a red-hot Democrat, stops while passing through Greenfield on a journey, to glorify with his brethren of the faith, and finds "his man Tom" the orator of the day. He is brought to this city, and some benevolent souls, unwilling to see him taken into slavery without a full legal right being exhibited, have him taken with a habeas corpus. We can't very well suppose that he would feel an ardent affection for a brother attorney who should consent, for ten dollars, to see that the law was properly twisted around his runaway legs, and his body fairly shipped off to Kentucky to practise law under the cowhide again. He would probably think that between a blood-hound who tracked him down and a lawyer who tied him with writs instead of ropes there was nothing to choose. And he would feel just about as *men* feel everywhere, whether free or slave. A human heart has some allowance for the owner who has been educated to feel that his slave is the same as his cart or cow. It can even find an alleviation (but we can't) in the case of the officer, who must choose between executing a cruel law and his office. But there is no mercy in it for the lawyer who hunts blood for money, who puts life and liberty, and home, and the bitter anguish of the soul which, till it goes to God, must be the instrument of an *owner's* pleasure, against a fee, and digs with merciless ingenuity right amongst nerves, and flesh, and marrow for his money. He can urge no palliation of education, official duty or social necessity. It is for money that he helps to hold a fugitive while a master chains him. It is for money he tasks his ingenuity to destroy the liberty of a man in whose place he would shoot the lawyer like a dog. He does that for a fee which, if any man were to do to him, a lifetime of vengeance would be no compensation. It is no answer to say that "the owner must have his rights protected." The law is *all* for the owner. His rights are trebly guarded. The slave, ignorant, terrified and tortured, alone is left helpless by the law. If there were no appeal to humanity in the fate of the recovered fugitive, there ought to be in the fact that he, the most needy of protection of all living beings, has least, has none. If friends come to his aid, and require every form of law to be observed, and every shadow of right to be made substantial, it is *their* act and not the allowance of the law. So would our friend think if he should change places with the negro he has helped to send back to slavery.

WASHINGTON NEWS AND GOSSIP.

From The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Dec. 17, 1857.

THERE was much [illegible] to the confirmation of the Hon. Nathan Clifford as Judge of the Supreme Court in place of the Hon. B. R. Curtis. Mr. Hale of New Hampshire made a strong speech in opposition, in which he affirmed that Mr. Clifford did not stand in the first rank [illegible] State, District or County. Mr. Bayard said the best that could be said on behalf of Mr. Clifford. The matter was laid over.

[illegible], of the Senate, whose conduct is [illegible] following Gen. Walker's [illegible] Nicaragua, is regarded as one of the best officers in the service, and is thought entitled to a suspension of opinion till the facts appear in an official form.

FRIDAY, Dec. 18, 1857.

The declaration so emphatically made by Senator Douglas, in his reply to Senator Green, that the scheme of forcing the Lecompton Constitution on the people of Kansas is a scheme of disunion and civil war, is significant enough, even in the sense in which it is commonly understood, namely, that the scheme, if carried out, will lead to bloodshed and to civil war as a natural and hardly to be averted consequence. But the Senator had a deeper meaning in the remark. The conviction prevails among the Northern members who are most competent to form a judgment of the true state of the case that the Lecompton Constitution is not pressed as a mere parliamentary or partisan measure by the Southern gentlemen who devised it, and who are now controlling and directing it openly or secretly. The President undoubtedly so regards it. He looks upon it simply as a Congressional question, which may be put through Congress with more or less difficulty, but to which, when passed, Kansas and the North will submit, or to which they will offer no other resistance than speeches and votes.

The President is deceived, and is unwittingly lending himself to the purposes of men who are playing a deep and dangerous game. The Southern authors of this Lecompton scheme care nothing for Kansas, which they know is lost to them. They are aiming at a dissolution of the Union and the formation of a pure Slaveholding Republic. They expect, through civil war, to drive the Free States out of the Confederacy, with the exception of Pennsylvania, and perhaps New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois, which will be graciously permitted to remain, if they wish to, and will make respectful application for permission to stay, giving satisfactory assurances of good behaviour in the future. Any free State, in fact, which will humble itself to make application for admission into the new Union will be welcomed, with the clear understanding that the Federal Constitution is to be so interpreted as to extend slavery theoretically, if not practically, over the whole Confederacy.

The South does not object to a few free States in the Union. If she could have a constant majority in the Federal councils, she would not care how strong the free State minority might be. There are reasons of State and of party which make it politic and convenient to have a certain amount of conflicting elements in a confederacy, just as in a legislative body it is desirable not to have too great a majority. Sectional and party discipline can be better maintained in the face of an opposition than when there is no counteracting force whatever. The leaders of the slaveholding aristocracy are determined to keep possession of the Government, with its multitudinous offices and profuse revenues. If the Union remains as it is, they see clearly that in 1860 the sceptre will depart from them into the hands of the Republican party. That catastrophe they are resolved to avert, even by force of arms if need be. To this end, and with this view, they are pressing the Lecompton scheme upon the President. They expect and hope that its enforcement in Kansas will be resisted, and that a civil war will be the result. They expect through such a war to divide and conquer the free States, and to drive the most obnoxious of them out of the Union. With the rest, or at the worst with the South alone, they calculate upon forming a confederacy in which the slaveholding class shall have the unquestioned supremacy, with nothing to check the expansion of its dominion over Mexico, Central America and the West Indies.

Mr. Douglas, from his long and intimate association with these men, perfectly understands their plans and motives, and this explains the emphatic hint he threw out in his recent speech, that the Lecompton scheme was a scheme of disunion. Mr. Buchanan has been so long abroad that he comprehends neither the designs of the slaveholders nor the state of public opinion in the free States. He underrates the difficulty and danger of the Kansas question, and thinks it will end, as all other controversies ended, in the partisan conflicts of the past, with which he was familiar before he went to Europe. He is desirous of a reëlection, and clings to the obsolete idea that the only road to the Presidency lies through the slave States. The Southern advisers who surround him, and who alone have his ear, know better. They are perfectly aware that their exclusive power over the Union, as at present constituted, is gone forever, and that nothing can restore it but some new arrangement which shall exclude the Anti-Slavery States. They look to the Lecompton scheme as the basis on which to begin the movements that are to result, they hope, in a new conformation of the country by which they can regain and secure that supremacy, the loss of which they anticipate in 1860, unless they can avert it by a *coup d'état*.

SATURDAY, Dec. 19, 1857.

Every effort will be made to carry the nomination of Nathan Clifford by party drill. He was appointed solely because of his personal relations to the President, and those relations will be made a means of intimidating the weak or conciliating the doubtful. The developments against him were sufficiently imposing on Thursday to stagger Mr. Bayard, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who asked time to investigate, and to make others hesitate, who yet believe that the dignity of the Supreme Court is worth preserving. When the fitness of a nomination for such a place, which ought to be universally conceded to start with, can be canvassed at all, it is easy to understand what weight its recipient will carry to the bench, even if forced there by the votes of a political majority. A jealous rival of the Duchess of Marlborough said, "Queen Anne might make Sarah Churchill a Duchess, but she never could make her a gentlewoman." So Mr. Buchanan may make Clifford a Judge, but he cannot make him a lawyer.

From The Times.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Dec. 15, 1857.

A strong combination of politicians has been recently organized in New-York, to make DANIEL S. DICKINSON the candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency in 1860—FERNANDO WOOD United States Senator from this State; and AUGUSTUS SCHELL Governor. The heads of the combination are D. S. Dickinson, in Binghamton; Fernando Wood and Collector Schell, in New-York City. The prominent subordinates in the movement are Gideon J. Tucker, Secretary of State elect; Henry W. Rogers, of Buffalo, (related in some way to Dickinson), Frederick Follett, formerly Canal Commissioner, and prominently connected with the "Know-Nothings"; John C. Mather, who was impeached while Canal Commissioner, but who has recently turned up a State Senator, under the favoring auspices of Collector Schell; Stephen D. Dillaye, formerly of Syracuse, and Richard Schell, the brother of the Collector. Tucker as Secretary of State, and Mather and Schell as State Senators at Albany, are expected to manage the Democratic country members of the next Legislature, and *they*, the Democrats in the rural districts induce them to believe that Dickinson is *the* man for "Old Buck's" successor—that Wood is sufficiently *honest* to occupy the seat of Gov. Seward; and that the loquacious Schell "is a monstrous proper man," to succeed Gov. King.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 16.

Wm. B. Rankin, President of the Pennsylvania Keystone Club, well-known in his State as the "Hero of the Williamsport Convention," having got up a meeting of his Club, and passed resolutions reading Douglas, Wise and a host of other Democrats out of the party, has come on post haste with the resolutions in one hand, and his application for office in the other.

SATURDAY, Dec. 19, 1857.

The resolution adopted in Senate, yesterday, upon the motion of Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, has significance. It calls for all the official proceedings in Kansas in connection with the late elections, the census and registration of voters, the Constitutional Convention, &c., &c. The Senator from Ohio, of course, is familiar with the facts, and would hardly call for them in official form, knowing the unfavourable exhibit they must present, if he was at heart in favour of sustaining the Lecompton swindle. The desperate efforts making by semi-official journals to create the impression that the Lecompton Constitution is to be carried swimmingly through both Houses, and that Mr. Douglas and others are beginning to regret their opposition to the scheme, constitute a game of brag which may amuse the players, but cannot win. The gentlemen who refuse to dance the "Popular Sovereignty" shuffle, led off by the Administration, are fully prepared to face the music, confident that justice and right, supported with energy and *will*, must achieve ultimate triumph.

SUNDAY, Dec. 20, 1857.

There is a lull in the Kansas excitement here, and everybody is looking with exceeding anxiety to the election to-morrow, upon which momentous events hang—perhaps the question of a civil war, disastrous to the peace of the whole country. It is taken for granted that the Legislature of Kansas has passed the necessary act, providing for a fair vote by the people upon the adoption or rejection of the Constitution made by the Lecompton Convention. If so, nobody doubts that an overwhelming vote will be cast against it. Nevertheless, the Calhoun party of nullifiers will send their bantling along, trusting still to the technicality under the cover of which their swindle has been pushed on step by step, and, ignoring all votes cast elsewhere than under the provisions of the Convention, will insist upon having Kansas admitted into the Union with the Constitution indorsed by the minority and repudiated by the best majority of the people.

What will the President do in such a juncture as this? The question is important. My impressions are that he will go on as he has begun, determined to finish the effort to bring Kansas at once into the Union, if it be possible. The indications are, so far as they can be gathered, that he also will ignore the vote cast under the new Territorial Legislature, claim that the Convention had all power to bind the people to their action, and that, consequently, any vote upon the Constitution other than the one presented by that body is irregular and extra-legal. If the President takes this step, succeeds in sustaining it, forces the Lecompton Constitution through Congress, and attempts to establish a State Government under it, we have here abundant evidence that civil war must follow. I have conversed with at least twenty representative men from Kansas—men of all parties and various shades of political views. Their opinion is unanimous that the people will never submit to this last act of Federal interference, let resistance cost what it may. Mr. Buchanan knows this full well, and it remains to be seen whether he will brave it all rather than retire from the unfortunate error to which he has committed his Administration.

From The Missouri Democrat.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10, 1857.

The moral effect of Douglas's demonstration is plainly appreciable in political circles. The talisman of the National [illegible] party is broken, the spell ward which never [illegible] to rally that great host and keep it united is [illegible] and reduced to a vulgar noun substantive [illegible] long its late association will render it an [illegible] of all honest men. The most devoted partisans of the Democratic party do not know which of the two, Buchanan or Douglas, is the heresiarch. The prestige and personal qualities of the Senator counterbalance the official authority of the President. Indifferentism and disorganization pervade the ranks of the Democrats from the free States. Party fealty sits light upon them. Membership and fraternity in the party has ceased to be a yoke to bow their necks, and the title of National Democrat is a despised and meaningless distinction. The secession of Douglas is not like that of Abdiel from the rebel ranks of Satan, who went solitary and alone. He carries with him one-third of the Democratic Congressmen from the free States, the leading Democratic journals of the free States, and the mass of the rank and file. Nor is he without sympathy and support in the border slave States. He has given the *coup de grace*—the finishing blow—to the National Democratic party. It is no longer a unit, no longer a national organization, much less a prætorian guard to make Presidents at pleasure. It is now a slavery party geographically as well as politically, incapable of putting forth another plausible delusion, although its faculty of invention is marvellous. The dividing line which ran north of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, of Indiana and Illinois, at the last general election, runs south of Mason and Dixon's line; and the next Presidential contest will not lie fortified in front by a tier of free States and a section of the North, but between a section of the South and the entire North, including California, aided by the friendly neutrality or the active alliance of the border slave States. The united North and the divided South will be the parties to the next contest.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12, 1857.

I have informed you that he (Douglas) will carry with him five or six Democratic Senators, and, though the Administration press teems with statements to the contrary, I have every reason to rely on the correctness of my information. He will also carry with him the five Democratic Representatives from Illinois, including Samuel S. Marshall, whose well-known proclivities gave the Southern members high expectations of his continued adhesion to them; and in addition, most of the Democratic Representatives from Ohio, Indiana, Connecticut and California. The Democratic Representatives from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, will probably support the President, for there are many valuable appointments yet to be made, and Pennsylvania and New York politicians are liberal of their votes when the public almoner is liberal of his gifts. Jewett, of Kentucky, will also go with Douglas, but I know of no Southern Representative who has the intrepidity to follow his example. With such a formidable following in both Houses, and with the Republican host in the rear, ready to receive him at any moment, it is not surprising that Douglas is implacable and aggressive—that the Administration hesitates to proscribe him, or to make the Lecompton Constitution a test of orthodoxy.

From The Philadelphia Press.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15, 1857.

It is generally believed that the Administration have sent to Kansas agents instructed to make every effort to have the slavery clause stricken from the Lecompton Constitution. This measure has given offence to the Southern members of Congress, and there are at present symptoms of defection on their part from the Kansas policy of the Administration, as it is understood in the present phase of Kansas affairs. They allege that the Administration in this violate the principle for which they contend. Every day, it seems, only developes new complications in this matter.

A Democratic Senator in the State Legislature of Wisconsin informs me that the Democratic members of the Senate and of the House composing that body have had an understanding, for some time, that previous to the opening of their sessions they will meet in caucus, and pass resolutions of approbation of the course of Walker, Stanton, Douglas and the Press. I give you his words as he gave them to me. Furthermore, he states that there is not a single dissentient.

The Hon. John Hickman, of the Chester District, was one of the first from Pennsylvania, in the last House of Representatives, to raise his voice in favour of the nomination and election of Mr. Buchanan. You know how he worked during the last campaign for the success of our cause. Now he prepares himself for continued advocacy of the great principle that the will of the majority, as fairly expressed, shall prevail, and will speak in the House on the first opportunity, in opposition to the Lecompton Constitution.

From The Baltimore Sun.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17, 1857.

The escape of Walker, and his landing at San Juan, are not to be attributed to the indifference of the Executive to the subject, but to the negligence or connivance of the officers of Customs, District-Attorneys and Marshals. Mr. McKeon, who was lately removed from the District-Attorneyship of New York, was the only Government officer who even undertook to carry out his instructions and enforce the neutrality laws against fillibusters. He has stated that he failed because he was not supported by the Federal officers at New Orleans, San Francisco, &c. The President, it appears, is determined to dismiss all officers who neglect their instructions on this subject. A few examples of the sort would be more efficient than half a dozen Executive proclamations and messages and circulars from the State Department, and official declarations to foreign powers.

From The Boston Traveller.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Dec. 11, 1857.

Every man one meets now salutes with "What do you think of Douglas?" Everybody seems to be in a state of doubt about him, except in regard to the one point, that he never made a better speech than on Wednesday last. But on the two political sides there is a singular unanimity of opinion—or at least of the expression of that opinion—that the present movement of Douglas is with a view of securing his reëlection to the Senate. The South, however, with one voice denounce him, and vow his political death. They class him among their most bitter opposers. Sumner, Seward, Hale and Wilson, and even Chase and Giddings, were never denounced more bitterly by the South than is Douglas at this time. And yet he stands precisely where he and his denouncers stood six months ago, when they were loud in his favour. He has now hesitated, faltered for one instant, and from that instant his doom was sealed.

The Republicans are content to look on and enjoy this battle royal among their opponents, saying nothing, except to deny that Douglas can be classed among them. But when they are sneeringly told that in him they have a new leader, they generally answer in the spirit which prompted Mr. Banks to reply to the taunt, "Sir, I am ready to follow *any* man who can and will lead—in the right direction." But before Douglas can be classed among Republicans, he must renounce squatter sovereignty, which is his present stronghold.

All join, however, in counting the chances of Douglas's reëlection. It is evident that the President regards him as a rival for the succession, and is, and has been, determined to kill him off politically. To this end, Ex-Gov. Matteson, of Illinois, was selected as the Administration candidate to oppose Douglas. The Governor is exceedingly wealthy, being at the head of several railroads, and being largely interested in several banks; and it has been thought that his wealth, together with the Federal influence which would be exerted in his favour and against Douglas, would give him the seat. But this new movement disconcerts the plans of the Administration. Yet whether it will strengthen the hands of Douglas or the Republican candidate remains to be seen. Some say that the Judge will fall between the two parties. But he asserts now a positive certainty of being elected as a pure Democrat, upon the principles of the Nebraska bill. As Father Richie would say, *nous verrons.*

Among those who are intimate with the Judge, it is said that he is more violent against the Republicans than ever; that he declares it his determination to remain in the Democratic party, and to bring it back to its true principles, as avowed in the Nebraska bill and indorsed at the Cincinnati Convention. By some his condition is compared with that of Governor Seward who refused to leave the Whig and join the [illegible] party, saying it was his duty to stand by his party and to bring it back to its first principles.

From The Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.

A few years since the Congregationalists of New York and New England attempted to found a church of their order in Washington. Nearly enough money was raised to build a church, and a well-known gentleman in your city advanced the balance wanting, upon mortgage, and the structure was completed. Quite a noise was made, and the Rev. Mr. Beecher came down and preached a dedicatory sermon—and a masterly one it was. But the enterprise soon failed for want of support, and for years the church has been closed. Yesterday it was opened, and for the winter, if not longer, services will be held in it. A Rev. Mr. Barrett, from the West, unaided and alone, took up a heavy mortgage upon the church, and will preach during the present session without salary. His object is to establish an anti-slavery church here, not indeed to thrust the subject continually upon his hearers, but to speak of it as he would any national sin. In other words, he aims at an independent pulpit. He is a man of decided talents, and I noticed among his audience several members of Congress. After Mr. Beecher had preached in the same house, certain citizens of Washington privately circulated a subscription paper with the idea of prevailing upon him to stay here and supply the pulpit of that church, if a sufficient salary could be raised. A handsome sum was subscribed, and among the subscriptions was one from a slaveholder, agreeing to give annually fifty dollars, if Mr. Beecher would take up his residence among us. Of course this was out of the question.

It is proposed to invite Messrs. Beecher, Cheever, Storrs, and others, to each fill the pulpit of the church on Sunday, during the winter, for the sake of attracting an audience.

From The Herald.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1857.

An important movement is on foot which promises an easy settlement of the Kansas agitation. It is intended, when the Lecompton Constitution comes on, to take it up by the friends of the Administration, both as a party measure and as a formal assertion of the Democratic principle of popular sovereignty. The Constitution will be passed, with a proviso that it shall be presented to the people of Kansas for final acceptance and ratification. It will not be thrown out or discussed, for the proviso of final submission to the people will silence the opposition. While it carries the great point aimed at by the Administration, it localizes the Kansas imbroglio, and allows the Kansas people to treat the question as they may see fit. There will be no excuse thereafter for the further interference of Congress and no agitators, in or out of [illegible] to hash it into an important national issue. [illegible] against such a possibility and to avoid ever [illegible] a disruption of the Democratic party, a[illegible] will be incorporated in the new bill as an alternative, in case the Lecompton Convention is rejected by the people of Kansas. This will provide a safe, direct and unimpeachable mode of framing such a Constitution as the people of Kansas desire, under the formal sanction of Congress, and surrounded with all possible constitutional and popular requirements. The movement is a Southern one.

It is rumoured that the Tennessee delegation in Congress have unanimously resolved to reject the Lecompton Constitution.

It is known here that some of the members of the Cabinet do not agree with the President in his determination to stop Gen. Walker in his course, and that one of them has written a letter to a friend in the South, in which he intimates that he may be under the necessity of coming out with a letter defining his position on this question, or perhaps even of resigning his seat in the Cabinet.

The friends of Walker have carefully canvassed the subject here, and say that two members of the Cabinet and twenty-two of the Southern Senators are opposed to any interference against him. There will be some more developments in this matter before long that will be very rich, and probably startle some of the old fogies who are afraid of a fuss.

From The South.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13.

It is now a well, established fact that the able Message of President Buchanan has strengthened the Administration, beyond the possibility of a defeat in the policy it is now engaged in carrying out, in relation to the affairs of Kansas Territory. The Northern faction that opposed the Administration on one part of the Kansas question, has met with signal failure. It had been anticipated that Senator Douglas's defection would have spread consternation and dismay, and broken up the Democratic harmony in Congress. These anticipations have been in no measure fulfilled. The rebellious Senator has utterly failed to draw off the Democratic members from the support of the Administration, and finds himself now in the position of a miscalculating and ruined politician. It is the subject of much remark that his effort to distract the party in Congress should have so completely fallen to the ground, and been passed over with such light regard; and the circumstance may be accepted as a striking evidence of the great, increasing, moral strength of the Administration.

SLAVE CASE IN PHILADELPHIA.

From The Philadelphia Bulletin, Dec. 18.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT—Judge Kane—*Fugitive Slave Case.*—This morning a hearing was had in the case of a fugitive slave, named Jacob Dupen, aged 30 years, the property of Wm. M. Edelin, of Baltimore County, Md. Dupen was arrested yesterday, by Deputy Marshals Jenkins and Stewart, about four miles from Harrisburg. He was in a field ploughing at the time, and made no resistance whatever. The only witnesses examined before Judge Kane were Thomas John Chew, of Calvert County, Md., and officer Stewart.

Mr. Chew testified as follows: I know the boy Jacob; have known him 14 years; he was the slave of Mr. Edelin, or known to be such; I knew him 14 years in that county; I was not present when he was arrested; when I saw him I asked him if he knew me and he shook his head yes.

Judge—Did he call you by name?

Witness—He did not.

Officer Stewart sworn—I was present when the arrest took place; his master was not there, and I asked him if he knew him; he said he did; afterwards said no; afterwards he said that he would have gone back home but was afraid.

Judge Kane (to fugitive)—Jacob, do you hear what is said?

Jacob—Yes.

Judge—Do you want to ask him any questions?

Jacob—I don't know what to ask him.

Judge—Well, does he tell the truth?

Jacob—I don't know what he said.

District Attorney—Was Mr. Edelin your master?

Jacob—Yes, sir.

District Attorney—Do you want to go home with him?

Jacob—I want to go somewhere.

District Attorney—Who brought you from home?

No answer.

District Attorney—Don't you want to answer?

No answer.

Judge—You are not obliged to answer. Where did you live in Maryland?

No answer.

Judge—Was it in Calvert County?

Jacob—Yes, sir.

The necessary papers were now made out, and the fugitive was handed over to the custody of his master. Jacob is about thirty years old, and has a wife and four children in Baltimore County, from which he fled about eighteen months ago. Previously he had lived in Calvert County. There was no excitement about the Court room; indeed there was no one present except the officers of the Court and the parties.

After the case had been disposed of, Wm. M. Bull, Esq., came into Court and stated that he had been employed by the friends of Jacob to defend him.

Judge Kane remarked that the case had been heard and that he had remanded the fugitive to the custody of his master.

The counsel asked if it was not unusual for cases to be heard at so early an hour in the morning?

Judge Kane—There is no rule of Court which fixes a time for the hearing of cases, and they are generally heard to suit the convenience of the Court and the parties. In the fugitive slaves cases there is often an attempt made to interfere with the execution of the law, and for that reason they should be peremptorily heard.

Mr. Bull—That is the case, your Honour, in many others besides fugitive slave cases. I did not know that in any case the defendant had not a right to be represented by counsel.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1857.

KANSAS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

WE live under a creditable government, it must be owned. We have a man of respectable private life at the head of it, with a clean shaved face, an unexceptionable white cravat and black coat—one that might be readily mistaken for a Doctor in Divinity off duty—and what is the work he is set to do? To steer the ship of State in one direction while he pretends to be looking the opposite way, in the hope of making the onlookers believe that that is the course he means to go! His fair pretence being to allow Kansas to have slavery or not as she pleases; then, by way of exemplifying his purpose, he sends in all the troops that can be spared from hunting negroes in Florida, to force her to have it whether she will or not. Republican institutions are to be secured to the infant State, but the Corner Stone must be first well laid, even if cemented with the blood of her sons. It was truly somewhat a difficult thing to perform the service which was the consideration of his Presidency, and yet maintain the outside show of fairness and [illegible] which was a necessary element of the part he had to play. Slavery was to be forced upon Kansas against the will of an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants, and yet they and the country were to be told that it was strictly according to the theory and practice of the Republic. And so it is, according to the theory which is now openly avowed, and which has controlled the whole process of our history ever since we had one.

The theory of our Government, as virtually laid down by leading statesmen, and recognised by Congress, and adjudged solemnly by the Supreme Court is, that Slavery is the paramount interest in the country, that it is entitled to control all others, to conduct the Government on the principles most favourable to itself, and to plant it wherever it can find a standing place and extend it to the uttermost ends of the continent. But, there being some apparent discrepancy between these commentaries and the letter of the text in which the rule of our civil action is engrossed, the business of a public man, and, above all, of a President, is so to conduct himself and the affairs committed to him as so to make matters fulfil the spirit without absolutely making dead the letter of the Constitution and laws. Thus it is rather in contravention of our laws and treaties to permit American citizens to fit out armed expeditions against neighbouring countries with which we are at peace; yet, when those countries are of a soil and climate suitable for slavery, the thing must be permitted, while the show of wishing to hinder it is kept up. The piratical Walker is arrested, to be sure, but allowed to go on straw bail of $1,000 and sail for Nicaragua without molestation, and to land under the guns of a National vessel, whose captain he bullies and sets at defiance. But then the District Attorney at New Orleans is to be dismissed for not hindering his going, while the Attorney for this district is decapitated because he did put a stop to his operations here. We know this is not the reason openly given for this last removal; but we take the liberty of believing that this was a main count in the indictment for going contrary to the policy of the President, under which he was tried, condemned and executed.

So as to Kansas, Slavery was [illegible] people of that Territory wh[illegible] The skill and [illegible] under [illegible] This part of the scheme having been successfully executed, the rest was comparatively easy. Law and Order are indeed magic words in this country, for, as usually interpreted, they came, like all magic, from the fiends. Nothing so divine as true Law and Order; nothing so devilish as the forgeries and lies which are here clothed with the power due to them. Law and Order it is that has made the free States the hunting-ground of the slaveholders, and has sent back from Bunker's Hill the echoes of martial music and measured tread, engaged in reducing a man who had achieved his liberty into a slave again. Law and Order were invoked to compel Kansas to submit to the decrees of her brutal and barbarian neighbours, which fixed upon her a Constitution and laws which were more than even the well-practiced equanimity of the veteran Cass could stand, at first. These words, and Popular Sovereignty, a formula well understood as meaning the Sovereignty of the Slave Power, were used as spells of power to cheat the eyes of the people of the free States, while the pleasure of the slave States was doing. By virtue of these words, too, the troops of the nation were poured into the Territory to dragoon the inhabitants into unwilling obedience to the behests of the Supreme Power.

It is a singular proof of the outrageous nature of the doings there in behalf of slavery, that no Governor has yet been found with a constitution strong enough to stand up under them. The President, having the pick of all the Democrats in the country—men, one would think, who had been through a political training that might harden them to any political exposures to which they could be subjected—it might have been supposed, could have found one capable of doing anything that he was bid. But the enormities of the tyranny fastened upon Kansas were more than the nerves of Reeder, or Geary, or Walker, or Stanton, could stand, and one after the other they have had to resign or get out of the way, because they were not strong enough for the place. Even Senator Douglas has found the native hue of his resolution sicklied o'er by the pale cast of the thoughts suggested thence. To be sure, he has had the wholesome discipline of disappointment to make his eye clearer and his understanding as well. Had he been rewarded with the Presidency, for which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was his bid, it is by no means impossible that he would have looked on matters with different eyes. The White House and the City of Chicago are very different points of view from which to look at the same things. But now he has the chance to profess that Popular Sovereignty really meant the sovereign right of the people to form their own institutions, instead of the right of submitting to such as the slaveholders chose to impose upon them. We cannot read men's hearts, and we cannot affirm that Mr. Douglas did not really entertain this idea, at the time; but, if so, he was the only man of average intelligence in the United States that did.

It is curious to see how "the whirligig of Time brings about his revenges." This Kansas villany, which was meant to advance its first promoter to the head of the Nation, has redounded upon his own head, and has actually compelled him to the fearful profession of honest intentions, at the risk of being read out of the party. Every governor and secretary that has gone into the Territory did so, beyond all peradventure, with the firm purpose of doing the slaveholders' work, and yet, because it was such as not even their ready hands could do without flinching, they have all been brought to their political graves. And it is far from unlikely that the Democratic party, which sets its fate upon this cast, may be sent out of the national gaming-house bankrupt and beggared. Whether anything better will arise to take its place, we cannot say. God can make the wrath of man—and his guilt—to praise him, and we wish that it may be so in this case. But we see no great prospect of it. Considering the very homœopathic infusion of principle contained in the *recipe* of the last consultation of political doctors at Philadelphia, we can hardly imagine that there can be less and any virtue abide in it. And yet less even than that must there be before the Douglas Secession can be mustered into the Northern army. The truth is, the vice that infects all our policy and all our history lies behind all parties and underneath all platforms. It was communicated to them all in the milk of the Mother Constitution, from which they all brag of springing. The taint poured into the veins of the parent at the very moment of birth must poison all the offspring, of whatever name. The country needs to be born again, and to wash away its inherent depravity and original sin in the waters of some new baptism. This nation must be renewed in the spirit of its mind before it can emerge from its present degradation and rise to the level of the lowest political morality of any Christian nation—or of any Heathen one, indeed. It can have no regeneration excepting through repentance and reformation.

PERSONAL LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

From an unpublished work on "Liberty."

BY J. J. AMPERE.

FREE will is what constitutes personality. Personal liberty derives essentially from our nature. To refuse it to a human being is to claim the right of annihilating the essence of humanity, and of killing in man what constitutes his very manhood itself. But all personal liberty cannot be annihilated in man. To declare that a free being is *not* free is as absurd as to declare that a stone *is* free. Hence the Stoics maintained that man may be free even in chains, since he can always will freely, and it is even impossible for him to will in any other way.

But, though it is impossible to strike down free will in man, the outward manifestation of it may be prevented; therefore, to treat a free being as if he were not so is not an absurdity, but a crime. In virtue of my personality, my soul and body belong to me; it is my right to dispose of them at my will; but slavery robs me of body and soul.

The origin of slavery is force. Now force is not a right; there is no right in slavery.

Purchase creates no right; for no one can sell what never belonged to him. Property, as has been well said, is founded on the act of taking possession, by a free person, of a thing which is not free. Now, man is a free being; in his case there can, then, be no taking possession. The slave belongs neither to the master who sells him nor to the master who buys him. It is impossible, therefore, to cite the right of property in favour of slavery, since this right is the condemnation of the master, who deprives the slave of the most incontestible of all property—the ownership of himself.

This result flows from the essential nature of things; from the impossibility under which man lies of changing it; of causing a thing to be other than it is.

There exists no law of power to violate this law.

This principle established, let us see what slavery has been, and (I blush to say) what it still is in the world.

Slavery, in itself, is always monstrous, yet a word still stronger is needed. We call monstrous that, in being, which differs from the regular form; but slavery is contrary to the very essence of human nature itself. The thing is so horrible that the word requisite to express it does not exist.

That slavery, monstrous in itself, has been at divers epochs and among different nations more or less cruel, changes nothing of its nature. As much may be said of every scourge of humanity. Slavery may be mild; there are maladies so designated. The plague and the cholera have not always and everywhere the same intensity.

In the East, slavery has generally been less severe than elsewhere. In Mussulman countries the slave, as every one knows, makes a part of the family; and he may chance to marry his master's daughter, and rise to the highest offices. Despotism is the rule, almost without exception, in Eastern climes, and there is no very great difference between the condition of the master and that of the slave; whence it follows that the fate of the latter is more tolerable, the master not being able to despise a condition so near his own; and it is, above all things, contempt which hardens the heart. The distinction between the slave and the master is nowhere more marked than in free countries, because nowhere is the distance between them so [illegible].

[illegible] the Athenian character tempered [illegible] severity of slavery. But in Rome [illegible] two conditions shows itself in all its [illegible] Republic still more than under the [illegible] Rome who undertook the protection [illegible] ror—the Emperor Claudius. [illegible], contempt for the slave is pushed [illegible] and so is the pride of the freeman. [illegible] against Liberty. I have before shown how natural it is that it should be thus; and despotism, which brings so nearly to the same level the citizen and the slave, cannot be called a benefit. But it shows to free nations the profound importance of rejecting slavery, so much worse in their bosoms than elsewhere, through the revolting contradiction between the freedom of some and the servitude of others.

In the United States, and in every country that enslaves negroes, the prejudice against colour makes slavery still more cruel; for the masters succeed at length in persuading themselves that they are not of the same species as their slaves. This is why even the free negroes, the free mulattoes, and the free quadroons as white as Europeans, in whom a practised eye can hardly discover in the nails and the corner of the eye a trace of their origin, are called *people of colour*, and undergo the disgrace attached to that name.

This is a gross absurdity. Those who think the negro of another species than ourselves are ignorant of the elements of natural history. It is the fecundity of their unions that proves identity of species in individuals. Now, the whites know perfectly well what conclusions to draw on this subject. The mulattoes are there to enlighten them.

Moreover, the negroes share the moral and intellectual faculties which are the attributes and the characteristics of the human species. They possess free will—the essential proof of humanity.

Even should certain faculties be less developed in the darker race, and should it be admitted (which I readily grant) that this race is, in some respects, inferior to the white race, and if, contrary to the opinion of most physiologists, and to those religious traditions for which the United States affect so great a respect, it should be affirmed that all men are not of the same stock, what then? Superiority of intellect confers no right over the liberty of others. If it did, men of sense would have a right to the service of fools—a claim that men of sense have never, I believe, set up, precisely because they *are* men of sense.

To place slavery on the basis of a natural difference of this kind is an indefensible error.

What I never could comprehend was that it should have been announced by Aristotle, who says positively that there are natures fit for slaves. This proposition is far more difficult to conceive as coming from the prince of philosophers than from the New Orleans planter; for the latter might argue from the different features and skin; while, in antiquity, the slaves in general in no wise differed from other men: any man might be enslaved as a prisoner of war or by national captivity. If the city of Stagyra had been taken by assault, or if pirates had captured one of her vessels having on board Aristotle, Aristotle would have been a slave. What change would his nature have undergone by that? One is confounded at so deplorable an aberration in such a genius—inexplicable except by more deplorable necessity of elevating into a right what is merely an established fact—a method of procedure which would justify everything—a tendency of which philosophy cannot be too suspicious, and from which she cannot be too carefully guarded, in view of the error into which it has led so profound a thinker as Aristotle.

God is just. He makes evil its own punishment. It suited the Greeks and Romans to leave to servile hands the cultivation of the earth, and the fulfilment of the inferior and necessary functions of society, while they themselves formed a class of idlers who passed their lives in the public streets, at the theatre or in the circus. This state of things, which had, in fact, its charms, ended by having its inconveniences. It ended in Athens and Sparta particularly in so small a minority of freemen that there was no longer a people; only a few privileged persons and a herd of slaves. Now, where there is no people, there is no army. At Rome the great increase of slaves created a competition with free labour which it could not sustain, brought about the ruin of small properties, and at length that immeasurable excess of great ones which ruined Italy. So the sugar and cotton cultivation of the South finds it convenient to execute by the hand of unpaid labour that excessive toil which whites with difficulty support. But slavery is the chastisement of that society which has permitted it. It is the one pressing danger which threatens without ceasing to dissolve it; a[illegible] this evil, which every one feels, no one sees a re[illegible] Slavery is in the Constitution, and yet the central g[illegible]ment has no more right than the English Parliam[illegible] the French Senate to abolish it in the different Sta[illegible]

The citizens of the slave States are not disp[illegible] sacrifice their property nor their share in politica[illegible] tions; which is in proportion not only to the nu[illegible] citizens, but to the number of slaves. Suddenly [illegible] five or six millions of blacks and throw them [illegible] society would be perilous to it and embarrassing [illegible] It is true. One sees the difficulties of such a s[illegible] but, on the other hand, the time has come to ta[illegible] for this is a situation which does not ameliorate [illegible] prolonged. On the contrary, it grows worse [illegible] rapidly increasing multitude of the slave popula[illegible] the more and more threatens opposition to slaver[illegible] free States.

In fine, and this is the decisive consideration, [illegible]very (irrespective of its greater or less degrees of atr[illegible], it has necessarily very great ones) is, in itself, something abominable.

Admit all that can be said of the humani[illegible] the masters and their interest in the care of their [illegible]rty yet this moral degradation to which it condem[illegible] beings, by ranking them below the human con[illegible] depriving persons whom God has made free of [illegible] sonal rights, this dishonour to mankind, this mu[illegible] the work of God, this violation of human Liber[illegible] is the essence of our nature, cannot be consent[illegible] to, *for it ought not.*

The Americans say that they did not institu[illegible] in their land; that England imposed it upon h[illegible] in spite of their remonstrances: that gives th[illegible] pensation in the matter of its abolition. Still the foregoing principle remains: Slavery is contrary [illegible] right, to enslave a man is to rob him of what is his—h[illegible] liberty. Now, when one has inherited stolen [illegible] may choose what one thinks the best *mode* of r[illegible] but restitution must be made.

Rome, ce 20 Octobre, 1857.

CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHI[A.]

From The Philadelphia Bulletin.

A SORT of informal Convention is being hel[d at the] corner of Tenth and Chestnut streets, simultaneo[usly with] the Anti-Slavery Fair which is in progress in [illegible] building. It commenced its sessions yesterday (W[ednes]day), at 3 o'clock, and was organized by the ap[pointment] of HENRY GREW as chairman. Mr. Grew m[ade some] appropriate remarks on the importance of the c[ause and] opened the way for another speaker, by decl[aring the] meeting free to all who might desire to address [it.]

Mr. ROBERT COLLIER, a local preacher among [the Metho]dists, and lately an agent of the Pennsylva[nia Anti-]Slavery Society, addressed the meeting. He said th[at] the ruling idea of the Abolitionists was the *unive[rsal bro]therhood of man.* They taught the doctrine that [illegible] human being, no matter how degraded or what the c[olour] of his skin, we are to recognise a brother. T[illegible] garded as the fundamental idea of the Gospel. [illegible] the Abolition Society of these United States [illegible] his idea of a Christian Church, better than any other organization in the country. He had attended a Presbyterian Church in West Philadelphia lately, in company with several of his evangelical friends, and had heard [a] sermon, able in dogmatical theology, in which the minister consigned to endless and inexpressible torments all who do not enter through the narrow aperture of a certain belief—no matter what their moral character or conduct. His evangelical brethren, or orthodox men, as they were, laughed at the bigotry of the preacher.

Mr. GREW agreed with Mr. Collier on the whole, but objected to his making anti-slavery synonymous with Christianity. A man might be an anti-slavery man and not be a Christian. Mr. Collier defended his position. A belief in the Trinity, the Atonement, &c., he said, was no test of character. "If a man hated his brother whom he had seen, how could he love God whom he had not seen?" If a man believed, with his heart, the doctrine of the brotherhood of man as Christ taught it, and acted accordingly, he held the cardinal doctrines of Christianity.

Mr. MCKIM alluded to a remark made by Mr. Grew, in which he spoke of "political discouragements." Mr. McKim saw nothing discouraging in the political signs of the times. On the contrary, he hailed with great satisfaction the indications afforded by the present aspect of affairs. The chief fact that now claimed attention was the split in the Democracy. This reminded him of the contingency hinted at in the proverb, in which "[illegible] men were to get their due." The Slave Power was [losing] its fastest friends. Douglas, Forney, and others, w[ho had] gone farther than the farthest in carrying out the sc[hemes] of the slaveholders, had now to bare their backs to [the] overseer's lash, because there was found to be a depth [of] degradation and a point of self-stultification to which even they were not adequate. The slave-drivers now treated Douglas and Forney with the same contumely they had poured on the heads of Sumner and Seward. Here Mr. McKim read an article copied into a Philadelphia paper from *The* (Richmond) *South*, in which the editor of the latter journal sneers at the "vulgarities" of Douglas's early education. *"Association with Southern gentlemen,"* says the editor of *The South*, *"had smoothed down the rugged vulgarities of his early education, and he had come to be quite a decent and well-behaved person."*

At all this Mr. McKim rejoiced. Not that he looked upon these disaffected Democrats as accessions to the ranks of Abolitionists, or even of the "Black Republicans," as they were derisively called; but because, in the loss of these men and their confederates, the slaveholders had lost their most valuable Northern coadjutors; and because it was a sign of the good time coming, when the North and the South should be arrayed against each other fairly and squarely on the sole issue of slavery.

Mr. McKim was followed by Miss REMOND, a lady-like young woman of colour, who was listened to with more interest apparently than either of the preceding speakers. Miss Remond's language was well chosen, and her speech that of a person not unaccustomed to address public audiences.

Mrs. MOTT followed in an earnest and eloquent appeal. Miss Remond had noticed as a discouraging fact that Rev. Dudley Tyng had been turned out of his Church for some words in favour of Freedom, and Prentice, from South Carolina, an owner of more than a hundred slaves, p[ut in] his stead. Mrs. Mott stated that Mr. Tyng now preache[d] to larger audiences than listened to him in his for[mer] church, and that "last First day evening" he addresse[d] a crowded house, with great power and effect, on the "Sin of Oppression."

The Convention adjourned till 3 o'clock to-da[y.]

The Convention assembled yesterday (Thursday) af[ter]noon, according to adjournment.

Mr. C. L. REMOND (coloured), of Mass., took [the] floor and went into an argument to show that there was as much of the virus of slavery north of Mason and Dixon's line as there was south of it. The public sentiment of the North, though much modified by the anti-slavery movement, still maintained slavery. Northern pulpits, Northern political parties, and Northern laws supported Southern slavery. It was the mission of abolitionism to change this public sentiment. There were but two pulpits in Philadelphia, so far as he knew, which boldly advocated immediate and unconditional emancipation. Mr. Remond was for calling things by their right names. In the use of what he regarded as right names, he characterized a slaveholder as a thief and a scoundrel. He spoke bitterly of the prejudice which trampled upon the coloured man at the North. The prejudice which had disfranchised 80,000 people of Pennsylvania, because of the colour of their skin, was the same as that which kept 4,000,000 slaves in chains in the South.

Rev. Dr. FURNESS next spoke. He said it was difficult to find expression for the feelings excited in his bosom by reflection on this great evil of slavery. In the Koran the word "assuredly" frequently occurs, standing alone, unconnected with anything preceding or following it. Mr. Carlyle had interpreted it to mean a *something*, an inexpressible something in the mind. On this subject of slavery, said the speaker, I feel a strong impulse to say *assuredly*, as the best expression I can give of my assent to the great truth represented here.

Dr. F. said that he had had a conversation, a few days since, with Mr. Sumner on the present condition of France, and that that gentleman had told him that he had been present at a club of thirty-five persons at Paris, composed of great minds of the nations, and, in reply to a question from him, he had learned that but one of all these thirty-five was in favour of Louis Napoleon. Yet those great minds were subdued into silence by the great despotism of the country. But if the French people have reason to blush for their country, how much greater have we to blush for the despotism which, under the name of republicanism, rules ours. The people of the North are under a tyranny greater than that against which our revolutionary fathers took up arms. It is a despotism which

us of all honour and all manhood. The slave system not only hold in chains the blacks at the South, but thrals the free white men of the North. The bond which holds us as their vassals must be broken. He saw no hope of deliverance except in the dissolution of the Union. Some oppose a severance of the Union on the ground that by a continuance in this unrighteous connection we might reform the South and teach them good manners. As well might a lost soul, on its way to the bottomless pit, resist the importunity to come back by saying, "No, I'll keep on and see if I can't reform the devil."

Rev. Henry Grew made some remarks, and was followed by Robert Purvis (coloured), who had been loudly called for. Mr. Purvis said he always spoke with great reluctance, from the fact that he found it impossible, constituted as he was, to speak on this subject with the moderation which colder-blooded people thought was required. Let others speak calmly on this topic, said Mr. P., I cannot. When I think of the sublime impudence of this country, setting itself up, *par excellence*, a free country, the "land of the free and the home of the brave," the "freest country in all the world"—the country which holds 4,000,000 of human beings in chains as chattels personal—this country which buys and sells and mortgages men and women as articles of property—which sells children at auction for so much a pound—this country a free country! this country which grinds me and mine in the dust—which kills and robs those with whom I am identified all the day long—am I to speak of this country, of this contemptible despotism, with minced and measured phrase? Mr. Chairman, it is impossible. My nature forbids it; my self-respect forbids it. Sir, I regard this American Republic, this so-called Democratic Government, as the basest and meanest despotism that ever disgraced the earth. I don't marvel at white men eulogizing the Constitution and Union of this American Government. They don't feel the iron heel; but, sir, when I see men of my own complexion, when I see black men exalting the Constitution and the Union, under which they are adjudged, by the Supreme Court, to have "no rights which white men are bound to respect," I confess I turn away with nausea and disgust.

Mr. De Wolf, a spiritualist, followed in opposition to Mr. Purvis, deprecating the use of hard language. A Mr. Campbell, a coloured preacher, spoke in somewhat the same strain, and pronounced a eulogy upon "Fred Douglass." Mr. Purvis rejoined with much vehemence in a speech which seemed to carry the audience with him. Mrs. Mott vindicated the use of "hard language," if that language were just and true. We were bound to speak the truth in language which forcibly expressed the truth, whether the language was hard or soft. A thief was a thief, and a "man-stealer," which was a scriptural phrase, was a man-stealer. We had no right to depart from the use of correct language to suit the tastes of any class.

Mrs. Lucretia Mott spoke at some length, after which the meeting adjourned.

From Our Own Correspondent.

The Convention resumed its discussions on Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock, Chandler Darlington, of Chester County, in the chair.

E. M. Davis, of Philadelphia, moved that the speakers be restricted to fifteen minutes each; which motion was adopted.

Mr. De Wolf then took the floor in opposition to the views of the Abolitionists. He quoted largely from Shakspeare, giving at one stretch a whole speech of Brutus, from the play of Julius Cæsar. Some of the bystanders explained this by stating that the gentleman was preparing for the stage, and had come there to practice. Mr. De Wolf was in favour of emancipation by compensation. Some of his remarks upon amalgamation were considered indecorous, and Mrs. Mott, with a blushing and indignant face, called him to order. The chair stated that Mr. De Wolf had exceeded his 15 minutes, and the speaker sat down.

E. M. Davis replied in an argument to show that if compensation should be awarded to either party, it should be to the slave rather than to the slaveholder. He quoted from the author of the "Impending Crisis," Mr. Helper, a Southern man, to show that no compensation was due either on the score of right or expediency to the slaveholder.

Mr. Bear, better known as the Buckeye Blacksmith, made a spirited speech in support of the views advanced by Mr. Davis. Mr. Bear said he was a Virginian by birth; [illegible] migrated [illegible] at the age of 14, and had returned to Virginia as soon as he had been able to earn money enough, and taken from thence his aged father and mother. Mr. Bear said he had been, until lately, very much 'tangled up in politics,' but that two years ago his party had died, and by so doing had left him independent. He had gone with the Republicans in the last canvass; but from this time forward, said he, I support no man who is not in favour of the absolute and entire abolition of slavery in the South. This theory of being opposed to the *extension of slavery*, said Mr. B., is a mere political trick and catch-word. I go for the abolition of slavery in the South, where it is now established.

Mr. Bear sat down amid applause.

Mr. Campbell (coloured preacher) renewed his charges against the Abolitionists of having deserted their early principles, alleging that they had been unfaithful to their pledge to labour for the elevation of the free people of colour. Mr. Campbell also objected to the Abolitionists for eschewing political action. He lauded the Constitution as an anti-slavery document.

Mr. Robert Douglass (coloured) made a short speech in reply to something said or done, a year before, by Mr. Gay, editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard; but his remarks seemed to be of too purely a personal character to interest or to be intelligible to the audience.

Mr. McKim said the proceedings of this meeting afforded a refutation of Mr. Campbell's charge that the Abolitionists had not laboured to disenthral the people of colour from the chains of prejudice. Who were most prominent among the speakers on this floor? Mr. Campbell, Mr. Purvis, Mr. Remond, and others; all coloured men, and all enjoying the right to speak, and the courtesy of an attentive audience, the same as speakers of the more favoured colour. Why was this? It was because we *had* been faithful to our pledge to treat people according to their merits and rights, and not according to their complexions. Mr. Campbell had compared us, disparagingly, with those who relied upon political action; but where was the political meeting in which he (Mr. C.) would be allowed to speak—not against its object and principles as he does here—but in favour of its object? Mr. Campbell had lauded the American Constitution. Mr. McKim was not surprised at eulogies of this kind coming from white people; but when he heard a coloured man of apparent intelligence laud the instrument of his own enslavement, an instrument under which, according to its *appointed exponent*, the Supreme Court, all men of African descent were declared to be debarred from citizenship, and under which it was distinctly implied "that black men had no rights which white men are bound to respect," he confessed he could not see how they could reconcile it with their self-respect.

Miss Remond (coloured) followed in a similar strain. She had not intended to speak, but she could not be silent when she heard the best friends of the coloured man traduced by one of their own class. Miss Remond showed that not only in Philadelphia, as had been stated, had the Abolitionists stood up perseveringly and with a fair share of success for the rights of the coloured people, but that in Massachusetts they had fairly succeeded in abolishing all invidious and onerous distinctions between people of white and those of coloured complexions.

Mr. Purvis followed in remarks of a similar strain. He bore down hard on Mr. De Wolf, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Douglass for their effrontery, as he deemed it, in coming there and abusing the courtesy that was extended to them, and using the platform to which they had been politely invited for the purpose of parading their own private grievances, and defaming the character of those by whose courtesy they were allowed to speak.

Mr. De Wolf replied in defence of himself. Mr. Purvis rejoined, and some personalities were indulged in, not in exact keeping with the dignity of the subject, but which the audience seemed to consider were among the things which "are to be pardoned to the spirit of Liberty."

Mr. Campbell rose to speak, but, the hour of adjournment having arrived, the audience left him on the floor, without ceremony. The meeting adjourned, *sine die*.

Fugitive Slave Impostors.—In the London *Morning Post* of the 9th inst. we find a report of the trial, in the Southwark Police Court, of two coloured girls, calling themselves Rose and Minnie Avery, who were charged with fraud in claiming to be fugitive slaves from the United States. It was clearly shown that they were impostors, and that they had collected considerable sums of money. The magistrates dismissed them with a reprimand, and a warning not to be caught playing the game again.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Dec. 21st, 1857.

You know under what gloomy auspices preparations were commenced this last autumn for our Annual Fair. It was a season of unexampled distress. The panic had entered every house, and our anti-slavery people, especially those connected with the mercantile classes, had troubles enough of their own to occupy their hearts and hands. Nevertheless, our accustomed workers began their task as usual, and while their hearts were full of agony, either of sorrow or of apprehension for their husbands, or sons, or brothers, in business, they plied their needles from force of principle and pursued the even tenor of their way, not doubting that the end would fully reward their fidelity to duty. For some had doubted at first the expediency of holding a Fair at such a time, and a few had even predicted a failure. Indeed the most sanguine did not count on our doing more than half as much as usual, and all looked forward to the result with apprehension. "Where are we to get articles that will be saleable and inviting?" it was asked. "We have no contributions from abroad to rely upon, as our Boston friends have; and here at home our friends have too many pressing cares of their own to occupy them to admit of their devoting the usual time and thought to the wants of the slave. And then, if we should have ever so good a supply of articles, who will there be to buy them? Some of our best friends are broken, others are much embarrassed, and all are feeling poor." "No matter for all that," others replied, "the result will be better than you fear. It has always proved so. Many a time, in the history of our enterprise, have we entered upon a measure the event of which was equally unpromising; but where the way of duty was clear, as it is in this case, the issue has always fully justified its wisdom; and such, we doubt not, will prove the fact now." And such now has proved the fact. For when the time came to open the Fair, the supply of articles was found to be abundant, but little less so than on ordinary occasions, and the purchasers, though not in a condition to be as liberal as usual, were fully as numerous. We have never held a Bazaar that was, on the whole, more satisfactory. The handsome saloon in which it was got up was moderately filled every day, and in the evenings crowded. The best feeling prevailed; it was a pleasant reunion—a delightful festivity. The proceeds amounted, I believe, to about $1,600, being about $500 short of the usual average. This, all things considered, is regarded as a decided success.

The Convention, which was held simultaneously, and in the same building, was equally satisfactory. The room was well filled with intelligent and interested auditors, and the speaking was earnest and animated. I have sent you a condensed report of its proceedings. The speakers, you will see, were Purvis, Davis, Remond, Miss Remond, Mr. Furness, Mrs. Mott, McKim, and others, whose names are not known to you. One of the latter was a man who came to spout Shakspeare, and, under the pretence of discussing the slave question, to practise for the stage. Such, at least, is the explanation, given by some who know him, of the part he took. Another was a coloured Methodist preacher, who was there to praise the ballot and the Constitution, and impeach those who got up the meeting for not labouring faithfully to break down the prejudice of colour. A third was a man whom one of you, Messrs. Editors, had offended, a year ago, by calling him a *Bumbastes Furioso*, and who had apparently come there to vent the grudge which he had been nursing for the last twelve months. These three persons had the freedom of the floor by the courtesy of the meeting. They made the amplest use, especially the two former, of the privilege afforded them, and, like ill-bred guests who are set down to viands of which they are rarely permitted to partake, they helped themselves as though they did not expect soon to meet such a chance again. I rejoice in our free platform, and regard it as one of the glories of our cause that we afford a hearing to all who have anything to say on the subject, friends or enemies; but I confess to some feeling of impatience, when I see people, and especially coloured people, who are not usually impolite, so far forgetful of good manners as to meet courtesy with intrusion and to treat thanklessly as a right what they ought to acknowledge as a privilege. I should have been pleased if the Chairman of the meeting, after the man who came, as it was said, to spout Shakspeare and practice for the stage, had had his say, had limited him to his "fifteen minutes," and then let him wait till others who came there to promote the object of the meeting had had a full opportunity of being heard. As for the Methodist preacher, it was evidently such a rare opportunity to him to address such an audience, and on such a theme (his own long and consistent services in the cause!) that I hadn't it in my heart to grudge him the pleasure it seemed to give him. I was willing that he should call us to account for our short-comings, real or pretended, in all matters, not excepting that of our duty to the free coloured man; but when he praised political anti-slavery as the fulness of abolition perfection, and scouted us in invidious comparison, and when he claimed the floor and the time of the meeting more than once to repeat his charges, I confess his effrontery disgusted me, and I was not sorry to hear him reminded that at no other meeting of white people, except one composed of such as he was upbraiding, could a man of his complexion be allowed to speak as he was permitted to speak; and that at no political meeting in the city or in the State, no matter what might be its claims to the character of anti-slavery, would he be permitted even to peep or mutter. It is melancholy to hear a black man praise the ballot which he is declared (*by ballot*) not fit to touch, and the Union from citizenship in which he is debarred by the Court of last appeal, and the Constitution under which he is adjudged to have no rights worthy of the white man's respect. I don't wonder that Purvis blushes for such specimens of the class with which he is identified, and sometimes oversteps the bounds of moderation in rebuking them. It is rather more than Mr. Purvis, with his hot blood and impetuous nature, can bear, to hear of people submitting, without resistance, to wrong even as wrong; but when men demand of him that, like the spaniel, he shall lick the hand and crouch at the feet of him that strikes him; that he shall do homage to the power that crushes him and actually praise as worthy of all commendation the instrument of his degradation, I don't wonder that his gorge rises; that he turns away from the soulless sycophants that stoop to such servility with disgust, and vents himself in phrases which his cooler moments admonish him are beneath his dignity.

The pleasure of the last day of our festival was marred by an incident (such things are *incidents*, not events, in this great pro-slavery city), which it is some consolation to think are of rare occurrence lately. I allude to the sentence of a man to eternal slavery by Judge Kane, last Friday morning. All I know of this case, and all the public has been permitted to know of it, is to be found in the brief report I sent you cut from the *Evening Bulletin*. The man claimed as a slave was arrested, on Thursday, near Harrisburg, by Deputy Marshals Jenkins and Stewart, and by them brought to this city. The next morning a secret hearing—as it is regarded—was had before Judge Kane, and before any one not in the interest of the slaveholder, or at least not indifferent to the result, was aware of what was going on, the poor fellow was delivered up to his claimant and the case settled. The whole process, so far as I have been able to learn, did not occupy much more than half-an-hour. It would appear from *The Bulletin's* report that an attempt had been made by some one to procure counsel for the slave; but the person sent for, Wm. Bull, Esq., though he repaired to the spot without delay, found himself too late. The reason alleged by the Judge for this indecent haste to perform an indecent act was that in such cases "attempts had been made to interfere with the execution of the law." The only ground for this allegation was that efforts had been made in all previous cases to secure for the prisoner all the advantage—which was slight enough, Heaven knows—that the law would allow. Judge Kane did not consider it expedient to make this concession in the present instance. It is an easy matter to come to a decided, if not an honest, conclusion where only one party is heard. Besides, it is an unpleasant business to play the part of Slave-Commissioner and Judicial Jackall for the man-hunter, in the face of a Court-room filled with intelligent and virtuous observers. At any rate, Judge Kane seemed to think that he and Vandyke, and the claimant and Stewart, and a few others, perhaps, of the same ilk, were sufficient to give to the matter the authority of form, and that this was all that was required. So these four—slave-Judge, slaveholder, slaveholder's Attorney and slave-captor—put their heads together and the case was settled. Mr. Bull remarked, with innocent surprise, to the Judge, "I did not know that in any case a prisoner could be debarred from the privilege of counsel." Mr. Bull was perhaps thinking of the Judge in New Orleans, who, a few days ago, in the case of a man arraigned for murder, and who unexpectedly acknowledged his guilt, refused to accept the confession, gave the prisoner leave to take it back, and insisted on assigning him counsel. But Mr. Bull had not learned—he has now probably—that a white man, even though a murderer, has rights which may not be disregarded, but that a black man, even though innocent, has "no rights which a white man is bound to respect." Commissioner Ingraham, base as he was, never went so far as Judge Kane has gone in this instance. He went through the form of listening to witnesses and counsel, even though he made no account of what was said by either, as in the case of Adam Gibson, whom he sent, on the testimony of abettors and others, to a man who never owned him and who had the honesty to return him as a free man; but Judge Kane, in this case, hears no testimony and listens to no counsel, except on the side of the slaveholder. Could anything be more monstrous? What could even Judge Kane do that would be more atrocious. M.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

Dublin, Dec. 3, 1857.

I find that some of my friends (and whenever this happens, I laugh at them, openly or in my sleeve) are apt to think that everybody else is as much moved by the last new book as themselves. They think that surely the whole world will now come round to this opinion so ably recommended, or to that argument so irresistibly enforced; or that surely those reforms which, until now, have kept hobbling along painfully and heavily, like the locomotive engines before George Stephenson put his hand to them, will henceforth rush forward with the awful power and rapidity of the express train from London to Exeter. How few read, how few care, how infinitely small is the proportion of those who trouble their heads about such matters! This reflection, fortunately, takes up little of the time and thoughts of the true writers. If it were otherwise, they could never write truly. If our little garments of self-importance did not wrap us up comfortably, and keep out the keen and perishing consciousness of our individual insignificance and inability, I don't know what would become of the greatest and the ablest of [illegible] women. I was led into these sagacious remarks by a book that lately fell in my way. I don't know what kind soul sent it to me. If you happen to meet him, I pray you to thank him on my behalf. I allude to Mr. S. A. Weston's "Progress of Slavery in the United States," which I read with deep interest, and consider well worthy of special comment in your columns and in those of all the anti-slavery papers. Accustomed, as I have been, to associate anti-slavery action with the Abolitionists alone, it is cause of hearty congratulation to see such books issuing from the press as those of Messrs. Helper and Weston, who, as far as I can judge, have no connection with 138 Nassau street, New York; 21 Cornhill, Boston, nor yet "with any of the shops over the way." The wider the basis of anti-slavery action, the better. If a man like Mr. Weston is ready to regard the efforts of the moral suasion Abolitionists as mere moonshine, and can make it clear to us that while they can never effect the object they aim at, it is nevertheless likely to come round by some combination of events which the slaveholders can neither impede nor withstand, let him talk, and let us listen to his anticipations with a hearty wish that he may prove a true prophet. Provided slavery is likely to come to a speedy end in any peaceable way, no true Abolitionist will trouble his head if the time and manner should not happen to square with his anticipations. I "calculate" that Mr. Weston is a Marylander, he celebrates the beauty, resources and enterprise of that State with such a hearty gusto. It was from some of his communications to the *National Era* I first learned the fact that, besides 350,000 slaveholders, of all sorts and sizes, and 3,500,000 slaves, in the Southern States, there are also a trifle of six millions of whites, who are neither the one nor the other. This is one of those simple facts which don't come clearly before the mind's-eye till they are thrust before it, and then we wonder we were never conscious of them before. Don't you think this gentleman's assertions that anti-slavery men and Anti-Slavery Societies were as plenty as blackberries before 1831—or to that effect—would be a good basis for a very pretty quarrel with him? Is it true or is it not? or are you both right? and how does the matter really stand? The thing is not of much consequence in itself. But then is he in the right, or is he ignorant, or insolent, or which? And is it not your duty to set yourselves right with the world, or as much or as many of the world as cares, on this question? I shall look for your "Reply to Weston" with anxiety.

However this may be, I heartily hope the people may grow tired of moving away any farther across the prairies and deserts of Central North America, out of all sound of the sea or reach of the post-office. I hope they may soon begin to turn southwards, and, with their activity, industry, wealth, enterprise and energy, sweep the slaveholders into the Gulf of Mexico. If Weston's book makes its way and finds readers enough, I should think his keen eye to material prosperity, his fealty to the Union, and his indifference to the blacks would recommend his book to a large class of the great American People.

Here nobody cares for any subject but India. The general opinion seems to be that it is our duty to give the 150 millions of our fellow-subjects in those parts a strong dose of vengeance first and an equally strong dose of Christianity afterwards. It is a strange thing when we consider that the two most "decidedly Evangelical" nations anywhere to be found are yours and ours. You are mad for slavery—we for vengeance—and both are or think they are equally bent on the promulgation of true religion throughout the world. It takes—I am deeply sensible of my weakness—a powerful moral digestive apparatus to swallow these things.

Yours ever truly, Richard D. Webb.

PERSONAL.

Senator Seward lately spent a few days as the guest of Hon. John S. Pendleton at Culpepper Court-House, Virginia.

Ex-President Pierce having been named for United States Senator for New Hampshire, the Concord *Patriot* announces that he would not accept the office even if he could receive the vote of every member of the Legislature.

John Calhoun, President of the late bogus Constitutional Convention in Kansas, is a brother of William B. Calhoun of Springfield, Mass., of Charles Calhoun, late Clerk of the Massachusetts Senate, and of Rev. S. H. Calhoun, a Missionary of the American Board in Syria.

Mrs. Fuller, widow of the late James Cannings Fuller, of Skaneateles, died a few days since, aged 74 years. She was, like her husband, a member of the Society of Friends and an earnest Abolitionist. She was one of the few whose anti-slavery is too vital and genuine to be destroyed by transplantation from British to American soil.

The correspondent of the Newark (N. J.) *Advertiser* at Florence writes, under date of Nov. 17: "We have here a mulatto sculptor, Eugene Warbourg, from New Orleans who brings commendations from Mr. Soulé, Mrs. Stowe and the Duchess of Sutherland, and who gives some promise of respectable attainments in the profession."

The Boston *Transcript* speaks of "two discourses of a high character" lately delivered in the Hollis street church in that city, by the Rev. A. D. Mayo of Albany. "This clergyman," says the *Transcript*, "has within a few years taken quite a prominent rank among the representative men of the liberal wing of the Unitarian body."

The Rev. Samuel J. May writes to us from the Glen Haven Water Cure, under date of Dec. 20, as follows: "I have been here five weeks, and think I have been benefited by the rest I have enjoyed, the simple diet upon which I have lived, and the water treatment to which I have submitted; to say nothing of the hilarious company by which I have been here surrounded." It will not be long, we trust, before we shall be permitted to announce Mr. May's complete restoration to health and his return to his important labours.

George W. Curtis delivered in Boston, lately, his lecture entitled "Sir Philip Sydney, or the Gentleman." The *Transcript* says:

"The subject was one peculiarly fitted to the lecturer's habits of thought, and afforded occasion for the display of much refined philosophy. The opportunity was used to the greatest advantage. It takes a real gentleman—not one in name alone—to adequately define the heart promptings and mental impulses which operate to keep a person in the path of rectitude, philanthropy, and patriotism; qualities that, blending in any individual, entitle him fairly to the cognomen of a gentleman. We know of no public speaker, outside of the clerical profession, who could, with as little presumption as Mr. Curtis, claim authority for his opinions upon this theme."

The Columbus, Ohio, correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* says: "Gov. Chase has been laid up for the past week with rheumatism, but is expected to have a firm footing in a few days. He is eminently a man of routine; perhaps no Governor ever devoted himself so constantly and systematically to the business of his office. Rumours connect the recent purchase of a tasteful and commodious residence by him with intentions to place in it, as his wife, an accomplished young widow of Cincinnati, daughter of a wealthy and influential citizen of Columbus. The Governor's sister, from Toledo, will preside over his new home for the present.

CONGRESS.

SENATE.

Wednesday, Dec. 16.

Mr. Allen (of Rhode Island) submitted a resolution for the appointment of the Standing Committees, according to a list agreed upon by a caucus of the dominant party.

Mr. Hamlin, of Maine, protested against the list as unjust, disproportionate, and sectional. He said:

"What are the facts? We have sixty-two members of the Senate—thirty-two are from the Non-Slaveholding States, thirty are from the Slaveholding States. The whole number of places upon committees is one hundred and twenty-six. Numerically, upon an equal representation, there should be assigned to Senators from the Slave States sixty-one places, and to Senators from the Free States sixty-five. The cast, although it has been slightly modified this morning, I think is not substantially changed. As it was made and presented to the minority, I suppose the changes will not exceed one. By that cast there were assigned to the Slave States sixty-seven, and to the Free States fifty-nine, showing a disproportion of ten. The whole number of committees of the Senate is twenty-two. Of these committees, there are from the Slave States to be found majorities on thirteen, and majorities of but nine from the Free States; and of these nine, where majorities are composed of Senators from the Free States, three are wholly unimportant—the Committees on Enrolled Bills, Engrossed Bills, and to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate—leaving, therefore, in fact, the proportion of thirteen to six.

"Tracing the matter along still further, I find that the party with whom I act upon this floor consists of twenty, being within a fraction of one-third of the Senate. They are entitled, upon terms of equality, to thirty-nine places upon the committees; they have thirty-three assigned to them. Seven of those thirty-three are on the unimportant committees to which I have alluded, leaving them actually but twenty-six on committees of any considerable importance. I find that on sixteen committees of the Senate the chairmen are selected from the Slave States, and on six from the Free States I find, to guard the succession (for I can come to no other conclusion), precisely an equal number of men from the Slave States stand second upon the committees, to insure the succession, when, by declination, resignation, or the expiration of their term, they shall withdraw from the Senate.

"But numerically, although important, it is a matter of much less importance than the particular manner in which the individual committees are cast. With only two exceptions (and compared with the others, they are somewhat unimportant), the great, the principal committees, that reflect the Government, that establish its policy abroad and at home, are all cast with majorities of Southern men. It is a significant fact; it is a fact pregnant with mischief; it is a fact of which the country will not fail to take notice. I say, sir, that the executive and judicial departments of the Government are now at the foot of the Slave Power.

"Here we have the Committee on Foreign Relations, that shapes and directs the foreign policy of the Government; we have the Committee on Military Affairs, that looks to its Army; we have the Committee on Naval Affairs, that has charge of its Navy; we have a Committee on the Judiciary, which gives constructions to laws, and shapes the policy (so far as the Legislature may) of the Government; we find them all constituted of a majority of men who represent the Slaveholding States. I make no objection personally. I want these facts to go to the country, that they may know the mode and manner in which the legislative business is prepared and shaped, and how it is that it is perverted to the behests and to subserve the purpose of the Slave interest in this country. Who cannot see the object to be accomplished plainly foreshadowed? The majority of the Senate, it is frankly conceded, are entitled to a control in the organization of the committees. But it is this sectional manner of which we have a right to complain, and to which we enter a protest; and from such an organization we have a right to infer the object to be effected.

"Another fact: I find that the Committee on Commerce, with a majority of Southern men, is entirely without a representative in all the far North-West, including the great lakes and rivers. With four of its members from the South, there is not one man to represent the internal commerce of the lakes, that is counted by its hundred millions. More, sir: I would like very well indeed to know why the usual rule was departed from in this case, and why the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Stuart], who so ably and faithfully represented the commercial interests of the North-West, was made to give place, if it be not for the purpose of shaping the legislation of the country to prostrate the commerce of that section of the Union? I think we have a right—all Senators have a right to their opinions—to come to the conclusion that the committee was formed and instituted for that purpose, from the [illegible] opinion that a majority of the committee, I think have uniformly expressed against internal improvements of all kinds. But a single position on that committee has been assigned to this side of the Chamber, and none for the large section embraced in the north-western lakes and the commerce of the lakes and rivers.

"Again, sir, I look at the Committee on Patents and the Patent Office, and I find a majority of that committee constituted of Southern Senators. They are worthy men—I make no complaint of the Senators who occupy the positions on these committees; but it is to their sectional cast that I object, and the purposes which we have a right to believe are designed to flow from that organization. That committee is composed of three gentlemen from the Southern States and two from the North, giving to that section the control of all its action.

"While I know that, if there is an honest man in this body who will devote his energies honestly to its purpose, I say cheerfully it is the worthy Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Evans); still, when we look at the fact, that of the inventive genius and enterprise of the country, more than four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, come from another section of the Union, I ask if it were not right that they might reasonably have expected men who feel a local and personal as well as national interest in that department of our Government in what relates to arts and inventive genius?

"Again, sir, I look to the Committee on the Library, and I find there no representative whatever from the North. Is it because the North are not qualified for the position? Is it because they have not as deep, as broad an interest in whatever may relate to the affairs of our library, to the literature and learning of our country, as Southern Senators? Why is it, unless it be for the purpose of taking care of your library, so that it be not tainted with those doctrines of the fathers who formed the Constitution of our country?

"I say that the whole form and shape of these committees mark and stamp them with a sectionalism which I had hoped never to have witnessed in this body. They come to me in that way and in such circumstances that cannot command my approbation or my vote. But I do not propose to take up the time of the Senate in discussing them in detail. I have only risen for the purpose of stating these objections to the committees, and presenting these facts as the reason why I shall withhold my vote from the resolution, and shall vote against it on the question of its adoption."

Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin, Mr. Chandler of Michigan and Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, supported Mr. Hamlin, and Mr. Pugh of Ohio, a Democratic Senator, confessed that the Committees were not fairly formed. The latter voted for them notwithstanding, with every other member of his party! For our own part we think the North gets in this matter just what she deserves for consenting to remain in union with slaveholders. She will find, ere long, that the only remedy lies in a dissolution of the Union.

Mr. Green, of Missouri, made his promised reply to Mr. Douglas on the Kansas question, treating him with marked courtesy. Mr. Douglas replied, denouncing the Lecompton scheme as a 'scheme of civil war," and saying that if he were to vote in favour of it "he should feel obliged in consequence to increase the army and support it at the point of the bayonet." "The adoption of the measure would not only rend asunder the Democratic party, but endanger the peace and prosperity of the Union. He did not believe that the President would ask Senators to run their necks into the halter of disunion or civil war."

Friday, Dec. 18.—Mr. Douglas introduced a bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a Constitution. It provides for a Board of five persons, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, to make an enumeration of the inhabitants of Kansas, and a fair apportionment of members to the Convention; also, provides for an election to be held on a day designated by the Board, not less than ninety nor more than one hundred and twenty days from the passage of this act; also provides that the Board shall be intrusted with the appointment of Judges and places of voting, which is to be confined to every free white male citizen of the United States who may be a bona fida inhabitant of the Territory on the 21st of December, and who shall have resided three months prior to the said election in the county in which he offers to vote; also provides that the Convention shall assemble at not less than 30 nor more than 60 days after the election of the Delegates; also provides that the Constitution shall be submitted to the legal voters for their free acceptance or rejection; and unless adopted by a majority of the legal votes cast, shall be null and void. The bill secures the personal and political rights of the people, including those of speech and the press.

Saturday, Dec. 19.—The Treasury Note bill was passed, after a warm debate.

Dec. 21.—Mr. Bigler, of Pa., attempted to reply to Mr. Douglas on the Kansas question. The correspondent of the *Evening Post*, says:

"It was written out in full, and delivered in such a drone that many of the Senators left the Chamber to listen to the spirited debate going on in the House. The 'discourse' smelt strongly of the lamp, but more of its smoke than the blaze."

The correspondent of *The Times* says:

"Mr. Douglas carries too many guns altogether for Mr. Bigler, who again essayed to-day to answer the able speech of the Senator from Illinois in vindication of the right of self-government in the people of Kansas. The speech which Mr. B. gave us was carefully studied and written. Indeed it is said—and there need be little doubt of the fact—that it had been critically examined and indorsed by the President himself. As an elaboration of the views of the Executive it commanded attention; but as an argument to sustain and defend the policy of forcing Kansas into the Union with a Constitution which the mass of her people repudiate, and against which they are certain to raise the banner of revolution if need be, it was an utter failure. Indeed it was less forcible and statesmanlike than the speech made by the Senator from Missouri, on the same side of the question, last week.

"In the running debate between Douglas and Bigler which followed, the latter was quite demolished. His friends saw that the Senator from Illinois was plunging him deeper and deeper in the mire at every step, and finally a Southern Senator, in very pity, went around to Mr. Bigler and drew him off by suggesting that he had better cry quits."

Dec. 22.—Mr. Fitch, of Indiana, spoke in reply to Mr. Douglas, and in defence of the Administration on the Kansas question. Elected to the Senate himself by a most atrocious fraud, nothing is more natural than that he should stand forth the champion of Border Ruffian frauds in Kansas. The correspondent of *The Tribune* says:

The debate in the Senate (above sketched) is considered the greatest that has taken place for many years. Mr. Fitch attacked Mr. Douglas with much bitterness, describing Mr. Buchanan as an old man who had no aspirations but for the good of his country, and who would leave the Presidency with more pleasure than he assumed it, contrasting him with Mr. Douglas, a young, aspiring man, full of ambitious schemes. Mr. Fitch warned Mr. Douglas, to beware of the fate of Aaron Burr and Martin Van Buren, both of whom had tried to destroy the Democracy, but had only ruined themselves. His speech was plausible and animated, and gave great satisfaction to the Southern Senators.

Douglas replied in his best style, and made a magnificent speech, defending himself successfully on every point, and predicting that in sixty days his assailants would be driven from their position. He declared again that if a Constitution was forced upon the people of Kansas against their will, civil war was inevitable."

HOUSE.

Dec. 16.—Assembled in the new hall. A communication was received from the Protestant clergymen of various denominations in the District of Columbia, tendering their services gratuitously in opening the sessions with prayer.

Mr. Cox, of Ohio (Columbus District), a Democratic member, made a strong speech on the Kansas question, taking ground with Douglas. Mr. Hughes, of Indiana, replied in defence of the President.

Dec. 18.—Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill to enable the people of Kansas to form a State Convention. It authorizes the legal voters, on the first Monday in March to elect Delegates—two for each Representative in the Territorial Legislature—who shall assemble at the Capitol on the first Monday in ——, and determine by vote whether the people of Kansas wish her to be admitted into the Union at that time, and, if so, shall form a Constitution, and take all necessary steps for the establishment of a State Government, subject to the approval and ratification of the people of Kansas. The other sections relate to the census upon which to base the election of Representatives, to land for schools, universities, public buildings, salt springs, etc. The boundaries proposed are substantially the same as those made by Mr. Toombs's bill.

Dec. 22.—The Treasury Note bill was passed, as it came from the Senate; yeas 118, nays 86.

Both Houses adjourned, on Wednesday, till the 4th of January.

Littell's Living Age, No. 709, opens with an exceedingly interesting paper, from *Oxford Essays*, upon "The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages," and contains beside a variety of matter in prose and verse. This number closes the LVth volume of a periodical which is acknowledged by good judges to be one of the best in the United States, and which we can conscientiously and heartily commend to all who seek an acquaintance with current English literature. Weekly, $6 per annum. Littell, Son & Co., Boston.

APPEAL OF THE WOMAN'S PROTECTIVE EMIGRATION SOCIETY.

To the Friends of the Helpless: A cry, even at this moment, goes up to Heaven from the agonized hearts of hundreds of young, and, hitherto, pure women; who, until recently, honest and honoured labourers in workshops and stores, have suddenly been cast upon the world—homeless, friendless, penniless—and who now, in the madness of desolation and want, are trembling on the verge of the dark stream of vice which pollutes our streets.

Fathers! mothers! think of this—look upon your children—and place them but for an instant, if you can endure the picture, in the position of these suffering ones; with the terrible alternatives of starvation or dishonour! Think of the pure lips that have opened but to the language of modesty and to the laugh of innocent joy, becoming the hot portals of blasphemy and obscenity, and of the wild merriment of reckless inebriety! Think of the bright hopes clustering around the future, as stricken down and withered; of the lives of honour and usefulness as cast away. Follow the lost ones in thought, through the agony of the last death of hope and the triumph of despair, and through the loathsome history which succeeds; and trace them thus, step by step in their downward progress, to the last scene of all, when the defaced image of desecrated womanhood lies lifeless on its wretched pallet—at once a reproach and a warning; and say, as Christian men and women—shall these things be so, while you, stewards of God's bounty in the various measure of your power, have the means to mitigate, if not to arrest, the march of ruin?

This is no exaggerated language—no inconsiderate appeal. According to the Rev. Mr. Pease, than whom no better authority could be cited, the number of women who have been driven from honest industry, since the present financial troubles commenced, to swell the ranks of the outcasts of the street, is at least FIFTEEN HUNDRED! How far this appalling statement is likely soon to be surpassed in fact, may be inferred from what follows: Very recently nearly one thousand applicants gave in their names, within a few days, to some benevolent ladies who had desired to test the extent of destitution amongst skilled and unskilled workwomen, with a view to devise and apply the necessary relief. Some few of these applicants possessed one or two dollars each, but the majority were wholly destitute, and some had not tasted food for twenty-four hours. And these, be it well noted, were of the industrious and respectable working young women of New York; shrinking from the dole of charity, and asking only leave to live by their labour. A sight full of pity to see; of horror to reflect upon, when all the possibilities of their future rise up before the mind.

But there is a way to help these people—a way at once humane, economical and effectual—a way to benefit them, and others also by their means. It is this:

The labour of these young women, which finds no market here, is much needed in the thriving West; and it requires but the methodical application of sufficient means to promote their emigration to places where homes and employment surely await them, to achieve their safety. The machinery, indeed, of existing Societies is altogether inadequate to a task which urgently demands exclusive attention, and a prompt and liberal, though careful expenditure. But to meet this difficulty, a Society has been formed under the name of The Woman's Protective Emigration Society, which awaits only the donations of the humane to commence the great and responsible work to which its founders have devoted themselves.

From the subjoined printed copy of the Society's constitution and proposed plan of action, it will be seen that it is contemplated at once to secure a house or houses, to afford temporary shelter to as many as possible of the young women who may apply to be sent into the interior, and valuable aid and counsel to others; while, in the meantime, some of the ladies on the Board of Direction will proceed to various parts of the West, to prepare for the proper reception and settlement of the young emigrants. It will be seen also that due checks and guards have been provided in the constitution of the Society for the correct administration of its funds.

It is on behalf of this Society that the undersigned appeal to the public for the liberal assistance so urgently needed; not in reliance on the force of the words they speak, though these come from the heart. The terror, the shame, the magnitude of the suffering they plead for, cannot find expression in language. But the philanthropist will feel it: the Christian, looking forward to the coming Christmas, the birthday of one who came "to seek and to save that which was lost," will surely feel that the cheering thought of having generously aided to rescue hundreds of his poor sisters from shame and ruin, will shine brighter on his mind on the day of rejoicing than will the fire on his hearth.

Friends of all creeds, but sharers in a common hope! children of one Father! come to our aid.

On behalf of the Woman's Protective Emigration Society,

Elizabeth B. Phelps, President.

Eliza W. Farnham, Secretary.

Subscriptions will be gratefully received by

Dr. L. T. Warner, 49 Lafayette Place,
Geo. H. Jones, 134 William street,
Thos. Truesdell, 141 Pearl street,
R. W. Heurtley, 2 Bowling Green.

Summary.

In a country graveyard in New Jersey there is a plain stone erected over the grave of a young lady, with only this inscription upon it: "Julia Adams, died of thin shoes, April 17, 1839, aged 19."

Up to Snuff.—It is estimated that there are four millions of female snuff takers in the United States, using on an average two pounds each per annum, or eight millions of pounds, at an expense of two millions of dollars!

The Hon. William Bebb, ex-Governor of Ohio, now a citizen of Winnebago County, in Illinois, has been indicted by the Grand Jury of that County for manslaughter, for shooting dead one of a charivari party at his house last spring, on the occasion of his son's marriage. Gov. Bebb has engaged Judge William Johnston, and the Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, to defend him.

An exchange says that Rev. Dr. Bushnell (Orthodox), of Hartford, Conn., has been officiating lately in the Chapel of Harvard College, in exchange of pulpits with Prof. Huntington (Unitarian). This movement is somewhat novel, and may tend to modify the position of both these clergymen in the estimation of each other's hearers and neighbours.

Not the Pleasure of His Acquaintance.—The *Journal of Commerce* tells the following reply of a boy to his mother: "The father was of the *keep your children at a distance* class, and the boy, wanting a new suit, very naturally asked the mother to intercede for him. 'Why don't you ask your father yourself, my son?' said the mother. 'Why, mother, I would ask him, only I don't feel well enough acquainted with him,' was the reply."

Will Make their Mark.—A correspondent of the Raleigh *Standard* says: "Of our North Carolina delegation much is expected. The Senators are men good and true; from the previous experience and bearing of the members of the House they will, if they do their duty, make their mark."

This we can confidently say—our members will make their mark if they do what a majority of their constituents are compelled to do whenever they sign.—*Fayetteville (N. C.) Observer.*

Woman's Rights.—An action of debt by a wife against her husband, to recover money loaned by her to her husband, being property acquired after her marriage, was tried in the Court of Common Pleas of Perry Co., Pa., a few days ago, Judge Graham presiding. The question was, whether a wife could maintain suit against her husband. The Court decided that she could, and directed a verdict for the plaintiff of $2 508.—*Milwaukee Free Democrat.*

The Telegram Controversy.—A London paper says that Messrs. Longman, having taken the advice of the highest authorities of the present day upon questions relating to the English language and literature, have signified their intention of having the word "telegram" henceforth inserted in all dictionaries published by them, and that it will accordingly appear as a recognised word in the forthcoming edition of Johnson's Dictionary, which is to be published under the superintendence of Dr. Latham.

A Kentucky Judge.—About two weeks since, a Kentuckian, occupying a distinguished judicial position, stopped at the Burnett House, and was for several days intoxicated. He finally wandered off, and from Saturday to Wednesday could not be found by his friends or the police, and fears were had that he had met a violent end. But after five days' search, he was found in a house of ill-fame, on Sixth street, "drunk as a lord." This week he is to take his seat on the bench! We glean this history from the Cincinnati *Gazette*.

Smith and Jones, merchants, were rushing round just ten minutes before two o'clock, raising funds, when, going round the corner of Kilby street, Jones came in contact with Smith, knocking him down. Smith was excited, and exclaimed—

"Do that again and I'll knock you into the middle of next week."

"My dear fellow," shouted Jones, "do it, and I'll give you a thousand dollars, for if I can only get through till then without breaking, I'm safe."—*Boston Gazette.*

Thieves Before and Behind the Counter.—If I go into a grocer's shop, and steal two or three pieces of sugar, I am a thief. But if the grocer sells me a pound of sugar and there are one or two ounces short, he merely sells thing by false weight. I am imprisoned. The grocer is fined a few shillings, and escapes. I am guilty of but one theft. The grocer, it may be, is guilty of a thousand, for he robs every person to whom he sells goods with false weights. Now, can you tell us by what strange anomaly of the law the greater thief is allowed to get off so much more cheaply than the lesser? Why shouldn't there be the same law for both?—*Punch.*

Extraordinary Newspaper Sale.—We learn from a brother of Mr. Stimson, late editor of the New York *Day Book*, that the entire establishment, including type and office fixtures and materials, together with the subscription lists of the weekly (about 25,000) and daily (5,000) papers, good will, &c., were disposed of at private sale, on Saturday last, to a couple of men who have been employed in the office a number of years, for $2,500, payable at the rate of $10 per week, no security being given for the payment of even this nominal sum, but is entirely predicated upon the future success of the paper, the parties being at liberty to abandon it at any time they deem it expedient so to do. It is but a few weeks ago that Mr. S. was offered $15,000 cash for one half of the establishment by a brother of Mayor Wood, and had the concern been offered at public sale, even in these hard times, the mere subscription list of the weekly paper alone would have brought ten thousand dollars.—*Paterson (N.J.) Register, Dec* [illegible].

Massacred Missionaries.—The following is a list of missionaries known to have been killed since the commencement of the mutiny in India:

Rev. W. H. Haycock	Cawnpore	Propag. Soc.
Rev. H. [illegible]key	"	"
Rev. J. E. Freeman	Futteghur	Am. Pres. Mis.
Rev. D. E. Campbell	"	"
Rev. A. O. Johnson	"	"
Rev. R. Macmullin	"	"
Rev. T. Mackay	Delhi	Bap. Mis. Soc.
Rev. A. R. Hubbard	"	Propag. Soc.
Rev. D. Sandys	"	"
Rev. R. Hunter	Sealcote	Scotch Kirk.
Rev. J. Maccallum	Shahjehanpore	Addit. Clergy.

Ladies and children killed: Mrs. Haycock, Mrs. Cocksy, Mrs. Freeman, Mrs. Campbell, with two children; Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Macmullin, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Thompson, of Delhi, widow of the Rev. T. Thompson, Miss Grace Thompson. The mission property destroyed is estimated at the value of $354,000. Of this heavy loss, by far the greater portion falls upon the English Church Missionary Society, and the American Presbyterian Mission. The former loses $160,000, and the latter $100,000.

The enterprising Territories of Oregon and Washington have handed in to Congress their little bill for scalping Indians, and violating squaws, two years ago. The "War," it will be recollected, was stigmatized by Gen. Wool, then commanding on the Pacific, as wholly wanton and unprovoked—having been deliberately got up by the whites for the purpose of running a bill on good, easy Uncle Sam. Neither Oregon nor Washington has ever paid anything of consequence for the Public Lands absorbed by their white inhabitants, but they are ready enough to knock a bottom-board out of the Treasury and load up their several carts with "the Spoils." They have had a "Commission on Indian War Claims" sitting for nearly a year past, which has made up the following cheering aggregates:

Number of volunteer troops in Oregon enrolled in the late Indian war	4,526
Amount of volunteers' pay reported by the Commission	$1 409,604 53
Amount of expenses in support of volunteer service in Oregon	3,040 344 80
Total war debt in Oregon	$4,449,859 93
Number of volunteer troops in Washington	1 896
Reported volunteers, pay of same	$549,593 06
Expenses in support of volunteers in Washington	971,882 39
Total war debt in Washington	$1,481,485 45
Total war debt in both Territories	5,931,344 78

The Territory of Oregon furnished about one-third of the men to the service of Washington, and nearly two-thirds of the supplies used in the war.

The claims of American citizens for French Spoliations of our Commerce prior to 1800 are now something over fifty-eight years old. So far as we can learn, they are as righteously due as any public debt ever was. After these shall have been paid half a century or so, we trust the claims of the Oregon and Washington Indian-fighters will come up for consideration.

Special Notices.

Anti-Slavery Meetings, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held as follows:

Caldwell, N. J., Dec. 28th, 30th and 31st.

These meetings will be attended by Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony; also, a portion of them, by Oliver Johnson, Sydney H. Gay, Lucy Stone, and Antoinette Brown Blackwell.

Advertisements.

THE "MANIFEST DESTINY" OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

REPRINTED FROM "THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW."

Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices 138 Nassau street, New York; 21 Cornhill, Boston; and 105 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

A HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SLAVERY EXTENSION OR RESTRICTION IN THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT DAY.

Mainly compiled and condensed from the Journals of Congress and other Official Records, and showing the vote by yeas and nays on the most important divisions in either House.

BY HORACE GREELEY.

This valuable pamphlet the Society have been able to purchase very much below its cost, and will sell at wholesale or retail at a very low rate. It is for sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices 138 Nassau street, New York; 21 Cornhill, Boston; and 105 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE LITTLE ABOLITIONIST.

By the Author of "The Autobiography of a Female Slave."

[*Written for the National Anti-Slavery Standard.*]

CHAPTER VII.

Two or three days after, the ladies received cards for Miss Granton's "Fancy party." There was quite an excitement in the house about the distribution of characters and costumes.

Emma Granton was a fashionable girl, of large fortune, residing in the city of L——, about thirty miles, by rail, from our little village. She was an old friend and classmate of Sally Morton's. At the boarding-school, they had been remarkable for their devotion to each other; sat at the same desk and studied from the same book; walked together through the woods in recreation hours, and each was the confidant of the other. But they were different in this essential trait of character: Emma was an aristocrat of the most approved order. She had a sort of clever pity for the poor; but believed that they should stand aloof—be marked, if not proscribed—a band of pensioners upon the wealth of the favoured few. The dignity of humanity, the advancement of the race was to her ridiculous as a farce. Of course, she and Sally had many long controversies, that ended in a laugh on Emma's part, and a tear on Sally's. Since leaving school, though residing in different towns, they often met, and their friendship seemed to grow stronger. Emma was always propitiating Sally by some contribution to charitable societies; but the latter was always lamenting the want of earnestness in her friend's disposition; she endeavoured, by every possible argument and the citation of facts, to awaken a true and noble philanthropy in her friend. She loved Emma too dearly to see how much she was absorbed in the dazzling interests of the world. Life loomed up before the gay belle merely as a glittering pageant—a festival day into which she wished to crowd as much selfish enjoyment as possible. And in her worldly-wise way she termed Sally a *wild enthusiast*, over whose faults she [illegible] mantle of friendly charity.

Mrs. Granton wa[illegible] best fashion, who scorned anything o[illegible] To be elegant was her religion, the c[illegible] no loftier article than "*Be ye fashiona*[illegible] f her soul was no larger than a half-dol[illegible] revolutions were mark[illegible] by the twelv[illegible] first in the scale —prejudice, scorn, v[illegible] mpanying virtues. She rejoiced in the [illegible], most splendid equipage, and th[illegible] f servants in the whole city of L—[illegible] and false atmosphere Emily lived, [illegible] star of fashion.

The "Fancy party" [illegible] nt in the polite circles. Everybody [illegible] e everybody else in the richness or strik[illegible] ne; but it was expected that Miss [illegible] ld outshine all others, as no one dare[illegible] dance. It was a harvest season to dr[illegible] andors. It was

Sally Morton felt [illegible] and so wanted to refuse this invitati[illegible] cousin so urged her to go that she re[illegible] the canvassing for characters.

Miss Manners was [illegible] ilicka, but her mother—a lady of [illegible]—thought the character too orient[illegible]

"Well, mamma, [illegible] uliet?" asked the young lady

"Oh, never, [illegible] a horrid idea; besides, you ar[illegible] d to personate that passionate [illegible]

"Then, [illegible] Stuart; come, mother, choo[illegible]

"Why not [illegible] You can wear that beautiful an[illegible] blue and pink, [illegible] wand in [illegible]

[illegible]

"Now, don't preach, Sally; we have had enough of that," said her aunt.

"As you are small and fairy-like in proportions, suppose you go as the Queen of the Willies?"

"Arrange it as you please, aunt; it is a matter of no possible consequence to me."

"Sally, I do wish you would take more interest in society. You make such a stick of yourself that I am ashamed to take you out with me. Do remember that you are a lady. I dislike to see such a bad feeling growing up between you and Clara; and yet I am bound to decide against you. Clara has very proper feelings for you; 'tis only that you mortify her by your vulgar notions. Do try to be more like other people."

"I am just as nature made me, and I can't be any other, aunt. I am sure that I would like to please you, *if I could*."

"There, now, that is a good girl;" and Mrs. Manners kissed her orphan niece with some show of affection.

For several days after this the ladies were occupied with shopping and dressmakers. The sitting-room was strewn with spangles, tinsels, fringes, odd ends of ribbons, feathers, and all the little, pretty, cunning devices of party-toilette.

"Aunt," asked Sally one day, "can't I take mammy with me to Mrs. Granton's? I think a trip of that sort will do her good. She has been sick and drooping for some time."

"Of course you can, dear, if you prefer her to Joe as a dressing-maid."

"I don't care for a dressing-maid particularly; but mammy takes such pride and pleasure in seeing me dress that I think it would gratify her to go, and change of work will not be unpleasant. By the way, aunt, I think she works too hard at any rate. She looks worn and weak."

"Oh, no, indeed, Betty is not over but under worked. She has too much idle time. Your uncle thinks of hiring her out next year."

"Hiring mammy out?"

"Why, yes, child. She does nothing now but wash and iron."

"But what a quantity of washing she does for us all in the course of a week. I never go to see her that I don't find her tugging hard over the washing tub or the ironing table."

"Oh, pshaw! child; negroes have a way of covering up their idleness by seeming to be busy. Your uncle thinks that it is legally wrong to allow Betty to live in such a free and independent sort of manner. Her cabin is the common rendezvous of all the negroes in the town and county, and objections will be urged against such an infringement of the laws."

"She lives quietly, and I don't see why she must alter her manner of living. She shan't be hired out, if that I am determined."

"You will have to obey your guardian."

Sally cast a defiant look toward her aunt, who observed—

"All this is of no consequence now—Betty can go with you to Mrs. Granton's if you wish."

Aunt Betty was delighted to go as femme-de-chambre to her young mistress, whom she loved as her own child, and in whose beauty she rejoiced with pride. It really seemed to excite her from her usually stupid and melancholy manner.

"Oh, beauty," she would say to Sally, "how the gem-men will look at you. None of 'em is gwine to compare long wid you. They all be a wantin' to dance wid yer, but don't you let any of 'em poor clerks, 'em shop boys come near you, cause you see common folks must not go wid quality."

Sally laughed and did not try to preach up a better doctrine, for past experience taught her that mammy's aristocracy was too deep, even for controversy.

Owing to the sudden and severe illness of Clara's special dressing-maid, Joe was taken as a substitute, much to the delight of that worthy. She flitted about in every direction, more like a kitten than a human creature, making great boasts in the kitchen of the splendid manner in which she expected to acquit herself, and expressing great fears of the recovery of the servant in whose stead she was going.

"I believes Joe's gone mad," said Aunt Betty to Sally. "She baint done nothin' but cut monkey capers since she heard she was gwine to wait on Miss Clara. Last night she plaited up that ugly wool of hers and has been beggin' John and Jim and all de hands for money to buy a new pair of ear-rings 'case she lost one of hers."

"Poor thing, she takes such pleasure in dress, I must give her a pair of my ear-rings—an old pair that I never use. It *will* spoil all her fun not to have them. Tell her to come to me, good mammy."

Pretty soon after, Joe came in, looking as bright as a well-rubbed copper kettle.

"Did you want *me*, Miss Sally?" and she dropped a round little curtsy in front of Sally.

"Yes, Joe. I wanted to see you a moment or so. You are going with Clara to Mrs. Granton's to-morrow night."

"Laws, yes, mam," and her face fairly shone with delight. "I'se so glad that Suse is sick, so I can go, for I does love to see 'em dance, and I loves to dress pretty ladies like Miss Clara. But I'd rather dress you, Miss Sally. It is sich a pleasure to do anything for you."

"Now, Joe, you know you had rather go with Clara, for she wears all the fine jewelry and the prettiest dresses."

"Yes, I'd rather fix her clothes, but look at your face, Miss Sally, 'cause its jist as bright as Sunday sunshine."

"Is Sunday sunshine any brighter than Monday's?"

"Laws, yes, kase everybody gits up Monday sour, kase they's got to work. I think the sun allers hides 'hind a cloud till twelve o'clock Monday morning; then he sorter gits use to its bein' Monday an' tries to shine out a little."

Sally laughed at this as she said,

"Well, Joe, I suppose you will appear in your best bib and tucker."

"Laws, no, Miss Sally. I doos lost my ear-rings and I ain't fit to go—but I strung some black beads in big rings and mean to tie them in my ears. I ain't gwine to go 'out 'em, to be sure."

"Well, Joe, here are a pair of gold hoops I used to wear, which I'll give you rather than have you appear so out of dress on such an important occasion."

"Laws, now, Miss Sally, don't rob yourself, but 'em is splendid, fine, big ones. Now you is a rale lady."

And she bent down to kiss Sally's foot, which was, however, dexterously prevented by our democratic heroine.

The next day, with a great number of trunks, boxes, &c., the ladies, accompanied by Mr. Manners and the three servants, set out for L——, where they duly arrived and were welcomed by the Grantons.

When evening came, the parlours, four in number, opening into a magnificent conservatory which swept off into an aviary vocal with the rarest melody, were brilliantly lighted. Very splendid and luxurious were those apartments. Soft Persian carpets covered the floors, whilst luxuriant curtains of embroidered satin swept from the windows in graceful folds. French mirrors gave back in soft reflection the forms and faces of beauties that blushed at sight of their own loveliness.

Soon it was gay and brilliant; there were assembled dukes, lords, ladies, kings and queens—representatives of every age and clime. Miss Granton appeared as Nourmerhal, the Light of the Harem, and looked very lovely in a Turkish dress of pink silk, embroidered with gold and the corsage studded with diamonds. Upon her head she wore a small Turkish cap ornamented with golden tassels and diamond buttons. It was a style of dress that well became her [illegible] beauty. [illegible] changed t[illegible] robe of silve[illegible] veil, in wh[illegible] ared as Noo[illegible] roses after [illegible] w with the [illegible]

Miss M[illegible] her min-h[illegible] star upon [illegible] nd neck, o[illegible] jewels. He[illegible] bead scarce[illegible] flushed to [illegible] s of admi[illegible] greeted be[illegible]

Our littl[illegible] looking ver[illegible] pare in a [illegible] The wings [illegible] y half folded upon her shoulders, myrtle was [illegible] in a fantastic crown, and bound her waist li[illegible] floated the long curls of her soft hair. [illegible] her band the Fairy's Wand. To Aunt Betty [illegible] was the most beautiful one in the gay assemb[illegible] few of the guests would have agreed to th[illegible] partial verdict.

Through [illegible] gorgeous throng, Sally moved with but lit[illegible] they were to her as so many chattering jack-[illegible] hen she danced, it was not with the sprightly p[illegible] her elegant cousin, nor yet with the airy swell and buoyant grace of the accomplished Miss Granton, but rather in an indifferent, careless, willful sort of a way that seemed to declare her ruleless nature.

"Why, Sally," said Emily Granton, in the most studied of tones, "why don't you take more interest in what is passing around you? Your eyes are as vacant as though they were gazing into darkness."

Sally started in very evident surprise, as if recalled from a reverie. The truth is her attention had been arrested by the haggard, wretched, agonized face of a mulatto man, one of the waiters, who moved about among the company, obeying orders. Sally understood the look; she knew that some great, acute trouble was at his heart.

Watching a convenient moment, she stole away from the company, followed him out upon the back balcony, and, stealing close behind him, asked, in a quick tone,

"What is the matter with you?"

The man turned hastily around, and, perceiving the expression of earnest inquiry in the face, said,

"Oh, Miss, my mother is dying; and I can't be with her."

"Where is she?"

"At the house of her master in Sycamore street. Oh, I wish I could see her. I'm 'spectin' little black Jake to bring me word how she is. There he comes."

As he spoke a little negro boy rushed up almost breathless, and exclaimed,

"She's most gone, Holton."

The man groaned fearfully,

"Oh, if I could only see her."

"Do you belong to Mrs. Granton?"

"Yes, mam."

"Well, I'll ask her to let you go. I am sure she will, when I tell her that your mother is dying."

"Oh do, please, mam. God bless you for it."

Sally moved away, and, re-entering the parlors, she searched through the range of rooms for Mrs. Granton, but that notability could nowhere be found. Sally, however, found Emily surrounded by a bevy of admirers, and, rushing up to her, caught hold of her arm in an impetuous manner, saying,

"Where is your mother?"

"I don't know, Sally; but what on earth is the cause of this desperation?"

"Oh, Emily, Holton's mother is dying, and he wants to see her. Can't he go?"

"I have nothing to do in the matter, Sally. I did not even know that Holton had a mother; pray, how came you by the knowledge?"

"Never mind, only say if he can go."

"I am not mistress of ceremonies."

"Then I must seek your mother."

And away Sally sped. It was half-past twelve o'clock, the fashionable hour for supper, and Mrs. Granton was found near the perilous of the supper room.

"Dear Mrs. Granton," cried Sally, in the most perturbed manner, "Holton's mother is dying; can he be spared for a few moments to go and see her?"

Mrs. Granton looked almost contemptuously upon her as she inquired in a freezing tone,

"What did you ask, Miss Morton?"

The question was earnestly, pleadingly repeated.

Mrs. Granton eyed her suspiciously, as if she doubted her reason.

"I really don't know, Miss Morton, why you thus presume to interfere with my domestic affairs."

Not noticing the hauteur of Mrs. Granton, Sally went on to beg that Holton should be allowed to go at once, as a moment's delay might prove fatal. Perceiving that her coldness was without regard or effect, Mrs. Granton deemed it wise to change her manners.

"My dear," she said, "it is quite impossible for me to spare Holton at this time. It is near the supper hour, and there is no one to take his place. He is my chief reliance."

"Mammy can take his place—use either of our three servants—*take me* rather than detain that son a moment from his mother's side."

"No one can take Holton's place. He may go tomorrow, or when the company leave, but now it is impossible; and, my dear, you had better return to the drawing-room. As for you, Holton," she turned as he entered, "attend to your work; *your mother won't die this time.*"

The muscles round Holton's mouth worked terribly. His swart face was ashen, gray; he spoke no word but went desperately to work. As Mrs. Granton left the room, he said, in a choking voice,

"I thank you, Miss, but I knew it was of no use."

"Is there any one with your mother?"

"No one but a little girl."

"Where does she live? I'll go to her myself."

"What! you, Miss?"

"Yes, I will go."

"It is late at night, Miss, and you are a lady."

"I am a woman, and *will* go."

He hesitated a moment. Gratitude had stunned his other faculties.

"Where is that little boy, Jake, whom I saw on the balcony? I'll take him to guide me. Make haste; no time is to be lost."

She ran up to her room, and, seizing a scarlet opera cloak, threw it across her shoulders, and drawing the hood over her head, ran down a private stairway, where she met Holton with little Jake.

"Here is the boy; he will show you the way, Miss, and God will take care of such an angel. Tell my mother why it is I don't come."

In a few moments more, Sally was rapidly threading the streets, guided by Jake. After a short walk, they turned into a private gate, and, passing through the yard, entered a low room, adjoining the kitchen—a poor, comfortless apartment, scarcely large enough to accommodate six persons.

There, upon a small, crazy bed-stead, lay a woman in the last agonies of death. Her sufferings seemed to be intense. She groaned aloud in fearful tones. Sally walked hastily up to the bed-side; and, taking her hard, black hand within her own, pressed it kindly, and, running her fingers along the wrist, counted the slow-measured pulse. The woman turned her face toward Sally.

"Why, who is this?" and her wild eyes scanned the young, fair face that was gazing down into hers.

"A friend," murmured Sally, as she offered her a draught of cold water. And taking her own handkerchief, she bathed the temples and brow.

"Whar's Holton?"

"He can't come for several hours yet."

"Wouldn't the white folks let him come to say good bye?"

"He will be here after awhile."

"I want him to come now. I has something to tell him, and I'm most gone now."

"I will say to him anything you wish me."

The dying woman raised her head from the pillow of straw, and gazed inquiringly into Sally's face.

"You is *white* and may ruin poor Holton. I can't tell you. And yet you don't look wicked. I've a great mind to trust you."

"I'll never deceive you," replied Sally, in a fervent tone.

[illegible]

[illegible] up the white folks. They do nothin' but kill, and worse than kill, the slaves. I've had plenty o' trouble in my time, an' I've had my little torn at revenge, an' I ain't sorry fur it. I've worked up many a death dose in 'em dainty pies and custards. I've given *pisen*."

Sally recoiled in horror at this boasting confession.

"Now, you need not look skeered 'bout it. White folks does worse than that. They whips to death; they burns niggers, and I give 'em an easy death in their nice dinners." She laughed wildly, exultingly, ferociously!

"I know one gal, white as the pond lilies, and a heap prouder. Oh! her heel has been on me an' mine. She come to her death, they said, from fever. But I know she swallowed the fever from a glass that *I* handed her. Didn't I watch her as she drank it, and say to myself, let it be red-lead to you." Another demoniac laugh.

"Well, if I had lived, I'd mixed many more doses; but I can't stay here. Now, I've got a little money. I's had to be particular with it. I hid it away as fast as I made it; and that was, God knows, by the hardest licks. It is buried in the lower part of the garden; tell Holton (he knows where it is) to dig it up—and run off—run away to Canada. Tell him not to serve another day after I'm gone. If he can run off easy, why well an' good. If they follow and overtake him, he must fight through it, or be fought down, down, down."

She rose in the bed; her whole face was a-flash with a savage, maniac glare, as she fiercely hissed out, "down to his death, but not agin into bondage, or my sperit shall trouble him!"

Sinking back, half exhausted, she lay panting like a wounded tigress.

Sally, who had been fearfully interested in her talk, now roused her; and very tenderly soothed and moistened her lips; stroked her brow and spoke in low, lulling tones.

The woman turned, looked full in Sally's face, then gave one deep, fearful groan that seemed to divide soul and body. It was as if she had parted with something that made self—that gave to consciousness all that was special and individual. Rousing up, she added quickly:

"My boy, Holton, is not black; his father was a white man—a *gentleman*. When Holton was but ten years old, he was sold from me. I wanted his father, who was my master's brother, to buy him. He wouldn't do it, and laughed at me—abused me—said he was goin' to marry a fine lady, and it wouldn't do to have his own child 'bout the house to make his fine wife jealous. But he came to my cabin that night; he got a drink that sent him off to sleep with the worms. But, ho, I am getting so sleepy. Did yer say Holton would come to say bye? I wish he'd come now."

She lay for a few moments still, as though death had come. A strange feeling—awful as fear and vague as mystery—crept over Sally. She went to the corner of the room, where Jake and the little girl were sleeping, and called them. She wanted company; she dreaded to be alone with that still figure.

The boy got up, and looking round, asked if it was time to go home. Just then the woman started and gazed wildly round. Sally's mantle had fallen off, and she stood in that dreary room, in her fantastic dress, like a spirit from another world.

"Who's that? What did that angel come from?" cried out the dying woman, as she looked at Sally, who now approached her, and, trying to calm her, said,

"It is no angel; only a friend."

"Now, that *is* an angel."

Sally attempted to hold the dying woman, who began to writhe in an agony of pain; but her little arms were too weak. She was, indeed, glad when the door opened and Holton, accompanied by her mammy, came in.

"Lawsi dear Miss Sally, my pretty baby, what does yer here? You'll take cold. They's missed you from the party; has been askin' for you. I was most skeered to death when Holton told me where you was. And as supper was over, he come along wid me."

Holton was holding his mother in his arms, and bending over her with a sort of broken-hearted fondness. A very touching sight when one remembered the gay scene from which he came.

"Come, Miss Sally, you *must* go back to the party."

"I have but little heart, mammy, for parties, but I will return to the house."

Without saying a word to Holton, accompanied by her mammy and Jake, she left the desolate room, and returned to the gay mansion of Mrs. Granton.

(*To be Continued.*)

TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Written on reading his speech delivered at Abington, Mass., on the 1st of August, 1857.

To live and strive in dark and troublous times,
When men may stake their lives, if need there be,
And mount the bloody scaffold steadily,
And be o'erwhelmed 'mid carnage and 'mid crimes,
Were light. With one great deed another rhymes
Through the vast realms of space melodiously,
And solemn o'er time's wide and shoreless sea,
One grand life with another ever chimes.
'Tis harder far to brave the daily hate
Of those whose trade it is to plat the thorn,
The paltering priests, who unrelenting wait
With this for thee, but tinsel to adorn
Our tricksters gambling at the game of State,
And find no word to say our settled scorn.

Amid this venal mob 'tis only thou,
And such as thou, that ever make us feel
We have a country. Never tempered steel
Was truer to the North. We know not how
This strife may end: that thou wilt never bow
Before the South, while others willing kneel,
But, faithful to our Northern Commonweal,
Wilt stand, we know, with still undaunted brow.
Thou hast no part nor place with that base herd
Who swift have brought upon our nation's name
A whole world's scorn, while this world's heart is stirred
With dread and wonder at the shameful fame
Of that career for which there is no word—
For which all English words are weak and tame!

Philadelphia, October, 1857. H. W. G.

THE PANIC AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Sparing no expense in cabs, *Mr. Punch* has gathered some statistics of the consequences of the crash, and as cautious to posterity, he now proceeds to print them:

The editor of the Pro-Sepoy penny papers was in such consternation at the tightness of his money market, that he exclusively confined himself to monetary "leaders," and abstained a whole week from abusing that wretch Havelock.

McFlimsy and Company, the great North Country house, has been preparing to smash for upwards of a twelvemonth; and now, it is believed, will attribute their misfortune entirely to the panic, and no doubt will be rewarded with a first-class certificate.

The wife of a respectable and highly cautious stock-broker was so alarmed by what she heard her husband say about the "low state of the bank resources" and the "drain of gold from the establishment," that she made haste to realize the score she had for housekeeping, and in her hurry purchased more things for her wardrobe than the larder.

Mr. Larker was so "engaged in the city" while the money pressure lasted, that he never once reached home until long past midnight, and then was so much overcome that he could not take his boots off.

A "pious" maid-of-all-work, holding a situation in a serious family, being confidentially informed by the baker's boy that his master said as bern were getting in a mess and worn't to have no credit, acted on the hint that very afternoon, and decamped with her piety and half-a-dozen tea-spoons.

A constant rider in the Comfortable New Saloon Omnibuses was so distracted by the panic from his usual intelligence, that he jumped into one of the French Company's Menageries, and did not find out until afterwards how he had been trapped and tortured.

No less than nineteen dozen-up gentlemen made excuses to the tailors, on the ground that money was so tight that they had really no loose cash for them.

The Chairman at a meeting of an Agricultural Society was so affected by the sight of the new sovereigns he was awarding to Prize Labourers, that he immediately wrote off a letter to the *Times* declaring that there need be no fears of distress among the working classes, for the peasantry he knew had hoards of gold which they, when out of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ordinary measures of [illegible] and he [illegible] extra half-pints daily to fortify his confidence that things were all serene with him.

One of the most eminent of the Hebrew bill-discounters had worked himself one day to such a pitch of excitement that he swallowed three pork-sausages for supper without discovering his error.

Another bill-discounter, of strictly Christian tenets, was thrown in such a state of mind by finding that some "paper" he had been "doing" had in fact been doing him, that to compose himself for rest he was prescribed the strongest anodyne, and even Mr. Smith's Poems failed to set him nodding.

Mr. Brown's wife's mother, chancing to be staying with them, took occasion of the Panic to read a lecture on economy to Mr. B. at dinner-time in answer to his grumbling at "that blacked cold mutton!"

These are some of the effects of the late monetary crisis; and the nation may determine if they are not of a monetary nature.

THE QUAKER'S CORN CRIB.

A man had been in the habit of stealing corn from his neighbour, who was a Quaker. Every night he would go softly to the crib and fill his bag with the ears which the good old Quaker's toil had placed there. Every morning the old gentleman observed a diminution of his corn pile. This was very annoying, and must be stopped—but how? Many a one would have said, "Take a gun, conceal yourself, wait till he comes, and fire." Others would have said, "Catch the villain, and have him sent to jail."

But the Quaker was not prepared to enter into any such severe measures. He wanted to punish the offender, and at the same time bring about his reformation if possible. So he fixed a sort of trap close to the hole, through which the man would thrust his arm in getting the corn.

The wicked neighbour proceeded on his unholy errand at the hour of midnight, with the bag in hand. Unsuspectingly, he thrust his hand into the crib to seize an ear, when lo! he found himself unable to withdraw it. In vain he tugged and pulled, and sweated, and alternately cried and cursed. His hand was fast, and every effort to release it only made it the more secure. After a time the tumult in his breast measurably subsided. He gave over his useless struggles, and began to look around him. All was silence and repose. Good men were sleeping soundly in their comfortable beds, while he was compelled to keep a dreary, disgraceful watch through the remainder of that long and tedious night, his hand in constant pain from the pressure of the clamp which held it. His tired limbs, compelled to sustain his weary body, would fain have sunk beneath him, and his heavy eyes would have closed in slumber, but no! there was no rest, no sleep for him. There he must stand and watch the progress of the night, and at once desire and dread the return of morning. Morning came at last, and the Quaker looked out of his window and found he had "caught the man."

What was to be done? Some would say, "Go out and give him a good cowhiding, just as he stands, and then release him."

But not so, said the Quaker. Such a course would have sent the man away embittered and muttering curses of revenge. The good old man hurried on his clothes, and started at once to the relief and punishment of his prisoner.

"Good morning, friend!" said he, as he came in speaking distance. "How does thee do?"

The poor culprit made no answer, but burst into tears. "O, fie!" said the Quaker, as he proceeded to release him; "I'm sorry that thee has got thy hand fast. Thee put it in the wrong place, or it would not have been so." The man looked crest-fallen, and, begging forgiveness, hastily turned to make his retreat.

"Stay," said his persecutor, for he was now becoming such to the offender, who could have received a blow with much better grace than the kind words that were falling from the Quaker's lips. "Stay, friend, thy bag is not filled. Thee needs corn, or thee would not have taken so much pains to get it. Come, let us fill it," and the poor fellow was obliged to stand and hold the bag while the old man filled it, interspersing the exercise with the pleasantest conversation imaginable; all of which were like daggers in the heart of his chagrined and mortified victim. The bag was filled, the string tied, and the sufferer hoped soon to be out of the presence of his tormentor, but again his purpose was thwarted.

"Stay," said the Quaker, as the man was about to hurry off, having uttered once his apologies and thanks. "Stay, Ruth has breakfast ere this; thee must not think of going without breakfast; come, Ruth is calling."

This was most unendurable! This was "heaping coals" with a vengeance! In vain the mortified neighbour begged to be excused. In vain he plead to be released from what would be to him a punishment ten times more severe than stripes and imprisonment. The Quaker was inexorable, and he was obliged to yield.

Breakfast over, "Now," said the old farmer, as he helped the victim shoulder the bag, "if thee needs any more corn, come in the day-time and thee shall have it."

With what shame and remorse did that guilty man turn from the dwelling of the pious Quaker! Everybody is ready to say that he never again troubled the Quaker's corn-crib. I have something still better than that to tell, and that is, that he at once became a changed man, and my informant tells me that he afterwards heard him relate, in an experience-meeting, the substance of the story I have related, and he attributed his conversion, under God's blessing, to the course the Quaker had pursued, to arrest him in his downward course.

CHINESE APHORISMS.

"You may, perhaps," writes a correspondent of the *Athenæum*, "think the following curious aphorisms worth inserting, as throwing some light on the controverted question of Chinese civilization. They are extracted from a book called 'The Book of the Way and the Truth,' by Lao-tseu, a philosopher who lived 600 years before Christ. It is translated by M. Stanislas Julien, Professor of the Chinese language at Paris.

"APHORISMS.

"Men of superior virtue are ignorant of their virtue. Men of inferior virtue do not forget their virtue. Men of superior virtue practise it without thinking of it. Men of inferior virtue practise it with intention.

"I possess three precious things; I hold and preserve them as a treasure: the first is called affection (love of mankind); the second, economy; the third, humility. I have affection, therefore I can be courageous. I have economy, therefore I can expend largely. I dare not be the first, and therefore I may become (I am fitted to become) the chief of all men. But now, men leave affection to abandon themselves to courage; they leave economy to get themselves up to profusion; they leave the lowest place to seek the highest. These things lead to death.

"When heaven desires to save a man it gives him affection to protect him.

"Great passions necessarily expose their possessor to great sacrifices.

"He who knows how to suffice to himself is safe from dishonour. He who knows how to stop never stumbles or falls.

"There is no greater misfortune than not to be able to suffice to oneself.

"There is no greater calamity than the desire of acquiring.

"The sage relishes what is without savour. He avenges the injuries he receives by benefits. He begins by easy things when he meditates difficult things; by small things when he meditates great.

"The saint seeks not to do great things; for that reason he can accomplish great things. He who thinks many things easy is sure to encounter numerous difficulties. Hence it happens that the saint who esteems everything difficult, encounters no difficulty to the end of his life.

"A tree of large circumference sprang from a root as delicate as a hair; a tower of nine stories rose out of a handful of earth; a journey of a thousand *lis* began by a step.

"Be attentive to the end as well as to the beginning, and then you will not fail.

"To know, and to think that we know not, is the highest pitch of merit. Not to know, and to think that we know, is the common malady of men. If you are afflicted at this malady you will not be infected with it.

"The saint clothes himself in coarse raiment, and hides precious gems in his breast.

"Beware of thinking your dwelling too small for you; beware of becoming disgusted with your lot.

"The net of heaven is immense; its meshes are wide, and yet nobody escapes.

"The sage fears glory as much as ignominy. Glory is for those who bear it. He is filled with fear; when he has lost it he is filled with fear.

"You may entrust the government of the empire to the man who fears to undertake to govern the empire.

"The most excellent arms are instruments of misfortune; they are the instruments of the sage. He uses them only when he cannot dispense with them, and places above all things calm and repose.

"If he triumphs, he does not rejoice. To rejoice at victory is to love to kill men. He who has killed a multitude of men ought to lament over them with tears and sobs.

Yours, &c., S."

A SMART SQUIRREL.

Mr. N. P. Willis tells a squirrel story in *The Home Journal*. He and two editorial guests, it seems, were [illegible]

[illegible] formidably prehensible. There was but one alternative—the bridge across the chasm. But, alas! with his loss of "confidence" the little corn-monger's usual foresight had forsaken him. He did not look about far enough to see that, instead of taking the safe side of the glen, that narrow bridge ended in the very centre of a "large town in Cappadocia."* That was astride of the far end of that single plank, his formidable lap presenting a toll gate that there was no manner of getting round. Two-thirds across before he discovered this, the fugitive turned to go back. But, with the quickness of a practised sportsman, De Trobriand had closed up the retreat. Stopping in his story at the sight of the squirrel's blunder, he sprang to the bridge and dropped his Parisian boots on the other side of the plank; and there sat two—a parenthesis of editors inclosing a very reasonably frightened topic of discussion.

[And now comes a phenomenon of natural history, to which I beg to call the attention of Prof. Agassiz.]

After running backward and forward, in terrified perplexity, for two or three minutes, the little victim came to a dead halt, and proceeded coolly to reason upon it. He looked first at one side and then at the other. The two ends of the plank were laid on the ledges of the two opposite banks, and, by jumping across the barricade of *The Tribune* on one side, or that of *The Courier des Etats Unis* on the other, he might, at least, land on a rocky precipice—with the danger only of slipping off as he should alight, and so falling into the torrent below.

And this he decided to do; but observe the almost human reason shown in his two or three subsequent expedients!

His two cheek-pouches (he was a ground squirrel, you understand, one of the *tamias lysteri*, with pockets in his face) were swollen to their utmost distention with his morning's pick-up of provender. With a knowing alteration of his sharp eyes from one desperate outlet to the other, he evidently made up his mind that it would be easier to overleap the Frenchman than the Yankee; but he came to the conclusion also, after carefully measuring the jump, that *he could not do it and carry weight*. He quickly disgorged, therefore, upon the centre of the plank, eight or ten kernels of corn, and thus lightened, ran to the edge. But here a new thought occurred to him.

You recollect the long hickory sapling which serves as a balustrade to that otherwise giddy bridge over the torrent. Up one of the pine cleats which support the slight railing ran the squirrel, evidently seeing that he could jump to more advantage from this higher point. But sitting here a moment to gather his courage and his forces, he bethought him that *with the jump thus made easier, he might carry more weight; and, descending again to the bridge, he picked up one-half of his previously disgorged corn, stowed it safely in his cheek-pockets, ascended again to the top of the railing, and made the leap he had previously projected.* To my great relief he safely alighted, and, with the wreck he had saved from his threatened bankruptcy, ran up the slanting ledge of the precipice and disappeared.

Here were certainly evidences of uncommon intelligence in this little animal—his sudden command of coolness in emergency, his deliberate choice between two evils, his prudential lessening of hindrance, his reconsideration of plan after a new light upon the matter, and the final proof how wisely he had calculated the possible savings from his first "hasty" assignment, and how well he had measured his powers for the last desperate leap. It is a story worthy of perusal in Wall street, or of copying into Thompson's Bank Note Reporter.

* Dana, a large town of Cappadocia. (Classical Dictionary.)

The Sky.—It is a strange thing how little, in general, people know about the sky. It is the part of creation in which nature has done more for the sake of pleasing man, more for the sole and evident purpose of talking to him, and teaching him, than in any other of her works; and it is just the part in which we least attend to her. The noble scenes of earth can be seen and known but by few; it is not intended that man should always live in the midst of them—he injures them by his presence—he ceases to feel them if he be always with them. The sky is for all; bright as it is, it is not "too bright nor good for human nature's daily food"; it is fitted in all its functions for perpetual comfort and exalting of the heart, soothing and purifying it from dross and dust. Sometimes gentle, sometimes capricious, sometimes awful—never the same for two moments together; almost human in its passions, almost spiritual in its tenderness, almost divine in its infinity; its appeal to what is immortal in us is as distinct as its ministry of chastisement or of blessing to what is mortal and essential. And yet we never attend to it, we never make it a subject of thought, but it has to do with our animal sensation. We look upon all by which it speaks to us, more clearly than to brutes, upon all which bears witness to the intention of the Supreme that we are to receive more from the covering vault than the light and the dew that we share with the weed and the worm, only as a succession of meaningless and monotonous accident, too common and too vain to be worthy of a moment of watchfulness or a glance of admiration.

If, in our moments of idleness and insipidity, we turn to the sky as a last resource, which of its phenomena do we speak of? One says it has been wet, and another it has been windy, and another it has been warm. Who, among the whole chattering crowd, can tell me of the forms and the precipices of the chain of tall white mountains that girded the horizon at noon yesterday? Who saw the narrow sunbeam that came out of the south, and smote upon their summits until they melted and mouldered away in a dust of blue rain? Who saw the dance of the dead clouds when the sunlight left them last night, and the west wind blew them before it like withered leaves? All has passed, unregretted or unseen; or, if the apathy be ever shaken off, even for an instant, it is only by what is gross, or what is extraordinary; and yet it is not in the broad and fierce manifestations of the elemental energies, not in the clash of the hail, nor the drift of the whirlwind, that the highest characters of the sublime are developed. God is not in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the "still, small voice." They are but the blunt and the low faculties of our nature, which can only be addressed through lampblack and lightning. It is in quiet and subdued passages of unobtrusive majesty, the deep, the calm, and the perpetual—that which must be sought ere it is seen, and loved ere it is understood—things which the angels work out for us daily, and yet vary eternally, which are never wanting, never repeated, which are to be found always, yet each found but once. It is through these that the lesson of devotion is chiefly taught, and the blessing of beauty is given.—*John Ruskin.*

Is Brahma a Plagiarism?—The readers of Emerson's "Brahma," and its parodies, will peruse with interest the following from the Providence *Journal*:

As the *Journal* is entitled to the honour of having published the first of many parodies of "Brahma," it begs leave to offer to the bewildered readers of that incomprehensible poem the germ from which it was probably developed. In the "Mahabharata," a Hindoo poem, composed about three centuries before the Christian era, occur the following lines:

"For he that thinks to slay the soul, or he that thinks it slain,
Are fondly both alike deceived: it is not slain, it slayeth not;
It is not born—it doth not die: past, present, future, knows not;
Ancient, eternal and unchanged, it dies not with the dying frame.
Who knows it incorruptible, and everlasting, and unborn,
What heeds he, whether he may slay, or fall himself in slain?"

This translation may be found in an article on India in the Bibliotheca Sacra for 1852.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

REMOVAL.—Fowler, Wells & Co., late of No. 231 Arch street, have removed to No. 922 Chestnut street, where Phrenology, Physiology, Water Cure and Phonography, Books, &c. Phrenological Examinations, day and evening.

NEW BOARDING HOUSE.—Respectable persons can be accommodated with genteel transient or permanent Board, by applying to the subscriber, No. 374 South street, Philadelphia. WM. P[illegible]

THEODORE PARKER'S WORKS.—Just received and for sale at Anti-Slavery Office, Philadelphia: PARKER'S ADDITIONAL SPEECHES. 2 vols. PARKER'S DISCOURSE OF RELIGION. 1 vol. Also, Portraits, large and elegant, of Parker, Phillips, Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison.

FRANKLIN WOOD, 104 South Fourth street, below Walnut, Philadelphia. CONVEYANCING IN ALL ITS BRANCHES. Real Estate bought and sold. Money procured on Bond and Mortgage. First-class Ground Rents bought and sold on commission. Houses rented, Rents collected, &c. &c. N. B. Marriage Certificates, Friends' ceremony drawn, neatly and correctly.

CARRIAGE REPOSITORY.—The subscriber informs the public that he has opened his new Carriage Repository, at 196 Race street, above Fifth, where he intends to keep an assortment of new and second hand Carriages for sale or exchange, on commission. Carriages made to order on moderate terms. Carriages sold on commission. Carriages neatly repaired. GEO. DODD, Philadelphia.

CHARLES C. JACKSON, Tailor, 201 Arch street, above Sixth street, Philadelphia, would respectfully call the attention of his friends and the public to his well established and constant assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, &c., of the best quality, which he will keep ready to make up to order in the neatest manner and on the most accommodating terms.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for superiority over all others in the manufacture of Trunks, Carpet Bags, Valises, Gum Shoes, Coaches Hobby Horses, and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks, descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship. Ladies' Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices. [illegible] CATTON, Trunk Manufacturer, N. E. cor. 4th, Phila.

KAN[illegible] & JUSTICE, Importers and [illegible] and Domestic HARDWARE, S. W. [illegible] [illegible] at the lowest [illegible] WARNER JUSTICE

[illegible] Removal.—William [illegible] 12th, Philadelphia. Phrenological Books and Busts, Stationery for sale. Evening visitors—free—and for useful written descriptions of character and talents. From the handwriting (natural) the same analysed. Price $3.

CONFECTIONERY—REMOVAL.—Laetitia B[illegible] respectfully informs her friends and the public that she has removed to No. 152 North Sixth street, below Race, opposite the stand, where she is prepared to furnish Ice Creams, Water Ices, Jellies, Cakes, Candies, &c., of every description. Also, the materials, all the produce of Free Labour, and warranted at the very notice satisfaction. Parties and families furnished at short notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.

A LARGE assortment of SALAMANDER SAFES, of various sizes, always on hand, at No. 26 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. EVANS & WATSON, thankful for past favours, respectfully solicit a continuance of the same. Please give us a call before purchasing elsewhere. Patent slate lined Refrigerators, Water Filters, &c. N. B. Sole Agency for Butterworth's celebrated Bank Vault Door Locks. These locks bid defiance to all lockpicks, Hobbs and others.

ROBERT B. CORSON & CO., successors to Baker, Price & Co., have taken the Office recently occupied by the latter, at No. 55 South Fourth street, Philadelphia, and are now prepared to deliver Lehigh, Schuylkill and Locust Mountain Coal of the best quality. Their knowledge of the Coal business, and the long residence of both members of the firm in Schuylkill County, and the connection of one of them with B. P. & Co. for several years, will enable them, we trust, to give entire satisfaction to all our old customers and the public generally. All orders will be promptly attended to, and the best quality of Coal sold at the lowest cash prices. ROBERT L. CORSON. CHARLES L. B[illegible] Office, 55 South Fourth street, and Broad above Spruce street, Philadelphia.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business. Every one his own Salesman. JONES & Co., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 200 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of Clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary, all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared, and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with full assurance of getting a good article at the lowest price. Remember the CRESCENT, in Market above 6th, No. 200. JONES & Co.

TO COUNTRY STOREKEEPERS.—The subscriber has on hand, of his own manufacture, a large assortment of Boots, Misses' and Children's Leather, Kid and Morocco BOOTS and GAITERS, of the best workmanship and material, which he will sell at low wholesale prices as any person in the City. Buyers will find it to their advantage to call. Orders by mail promptly attended to. W. C. PARKER, No. 91 North Sixth street, below Race, Philadelphia. N. B. Gaiter Uppers, ready for the trade, sold to Country makers at low prices. Also, Gum Shoes.

FAMILY FLOUR STORE, No. 35 North Fifth street, near Arch, Philadelphia. From this central situation, families may procure the best qualities of Flour to be had in the market, as care is taken to keep a constant supply of the most reliable brands. Also, Rye, Buckwheat, Indian, Graham, and Wheat Meal, fresh from the mill, delivered by an obliging porter to any part of the city and adjoining districts, or to any of the transportation lines leaving the city. [illegible] N. B. An assortment of choice Family Hams, both Eastern and Western.

SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 52 N. Fourth street (3d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail dealers in Blank Books, &c., which we will sell lower than the lowest. English, French and American Cap, Letter and Note Papers, Envelopes, Sealing Wax, plain and fancy Wafers of every description, superior Gold and Steel Pens, Ink and Inkstands. Gold Pens, Inkstands, Cups, Paper Weights, plain and fancy Pen-holders, Drawing Paper and Books, Bristol Board, Tracing Paper, Impression Paper, Slates, Paper, &c. Visiting and Wedding Cards, Portemonnaies, Pocket Books, Portfolios, Card Cases, Backgammon Boards, Diaries, &c. All kinds of Blank Books, Deeds, Mortgages, Bonds, Bills of Rogers' Wolstenholm's and other Cutlery, and Sealing Wax, Envelopes, 10 cents per 100 and 50 cents per 1000, etc. J. W. CLOTHIER & CO., Fourth st., below Arch, Phila.

PORTABLE DESK and DRESSING CASE Manufactory.—To ladies and gentlemen about to travel, or to those who would respectfully call their attention to articles he manufactures expressly for travelling purposes, and for the convenience and comfort of travellers. Also, his well-selected stock of imported and domestic Perfumery, of the best descriptions; Brushes, Fancy Goods, etc., with Combs, Shaving Brushes, Fancy Soaps, Razors, Penknives, Scissors, and every variety of accommodation. Scissors and other personal conveniences. Cases, Ladies' Reticules, Work Cases, Portfolios, Porte-monnaies, Money Belts, and a general assortment of useful Fancy articles. WM. T. FRY, Manufacturer, 128 Arch street, above Sixth, south side, Philadelphia.

BOOKS FOR SALE AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, Philadelphia. Poems, on miscellaneous subjects, by Frances E. Watkins. The Edinburgh Doll and other Tales for Children. Life of Steward, with selections from his Speeches. Discourses by Rev. William H. Furness. Five Hundred Thousand Strokes for Freedom. God's Image in Ebony. Speeches in Congress, by Hon. Joshua R. Giddings. The Personal Narrative of Mrs. Marg't Douglass, a Southern woman. Sketches of Places and People Abroad, by Wm. Wells Brown. Writings of Garrison. Inside View of Slavery, or, A Tour among the Planters. White Slavery in the Barbary States, by Charles Sumner. Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery, by William Jay. Pictures and Stories from Uncle Tom's Cabin. Caste; a Story of Republican Equality. Africa and the American Flag, by Foote. The Refugee, or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Theodore Parker's Works. Uncle Tom's Cabin, variously bound. &c. &c. &c. Any book in the Philadelphia market can be had at short notice, and at the current price, by applying at this office.